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Selected Aspects of Communication with a Hearing Disadvantaged Patient

Summary

Communication as an activity represents a wide range of views on its process and meaning. On one hand, it acts as a means of mutual influence among individuals. On the other hand, it serves as an actual carrier of a certain social process, of interaction. It enables social interaction that makes a person a social being. A prerequisite for communication is a commonly recognized set of meanings within a particular group or society. Special situations arise when individuals with different types and degrees of disadvantage engage in communication interactions. The paper analyzes the basic areas of communication with the hearing disadvantaged patient, such as a dual language system, methods of communicating with a patient with hearing impairments, and issues in communication with a hearing-impaired patient.

Keywords: Hearing-impaired patient, language system, viewing, communication cards, dignity.

INTRODUCTION

Communication regulates our actions and behavior (whether at a conscious or subconscious level), influences our aspirations, our performance, and sets the direction for our perspectives on life, both personally and in society. One can begin by asking why we communicate most often and what reasons lead us to communicate. We communicate, for example, to exchange and acquire information and knowledge, to persuade others to our side, to fulfill tasks set by ourselves or others, to understand ourselves and others – colleagues, friends, or not friends – so that we can establish social contact and avoid isolation, as having someone close is one of the basic human needs.

The term communication encompasses the mutual exchange of information, messages, and meanings between individuals or groups, as well as the exchange of values, desires, needs, and feelings.

COMMUNICATION WITH HEARING IMPAIRMENT

We still know very little about how the deaf communicate, whether in their world without meanings carried by sound or in our world. Linguists have taken a deeper interest in this issue. Hearing-impaired patients communicate differently from hearing patients primarily through hand movements and facial expressions, as well as through head and upper body positions. An accidental and uninterested observer of such communication is usually inclined to believe that deaf patients mainly use gestures and facial expressions, i.e., means of non-verbal communication. However, more systematic and intense observation and analysis of communication among deaf patients have revealed something different: the means used by the deaf for communication are only superficially similar to non-verbal gestures and facial expressions; fundamentally, they differ and are comparable instead to the means of the languages used by hearing patients.

This perspective on the communication of deaf patients is relatively modern. Linguists in the first half of the 20th century referred to the communication of the "group of the deaf and mute" as something comparable to the gestures of Native Americans. In 1957, psychologist Myklebust considered "the speech of the deaf" as something less than ordinary speech, adding that a person who uses this language would never fulfill all human potentials and is therefore "less human" (Ptáček, Bartunek, 2015). Today, however, this view is no longer dominant; rather, it is perceived negatively and discriminatively towards hearing-impaired patients. Problems emerge in the communication between a hearing-impaired patient and a hearing patient or healthcare worker.

Nurses caring for hearing-impaired patients should know that hearing-impaired individuals use a dual system of language.

VERBAL COMMUNICATION

Articulated, oral speech uses preserved remnants of hearing and the technique of lip-reading. Mastery of this method is very difficult; for the deaf, it represents an inadequate means of communication but has the advantage that others understand it. The acquisition or retention of the ability to communicate orally is very problematic for a person with severe hearing impairment, as it lacks the most crucial prerequisite—ease of perceiving verbal expression or controlling one's own verbal output (DeVito, 2001). For deaf patients (or individuals with residual hearing), oral speech is, in principle, an inadequate means of communication that they learn to avoid being excessively isolated in mainstream society. The degree of motivation to acquire this can vary, depending on the abilities and experiences of the hearing-impaired patient. When a hearing-impaired person finds themselves in the social role of a patient in a healthcare facility, whether as an outpatient or hospitalized patient, this situation weighs far more heavily on them than on a patient without

hearing impairment (Ptáček, Bartunek, 2011). Children with good intelligence, a stimulating family environment, and those who attended regular primary schools showed greater efforts to communicate and had a richer vocabulary. A transition to a hearing environment can serve as a stimulus for improving oral speech, even though this situation is experienced as unpleasant and stressful.

NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION: FACIAL EXPRESSIONS AND PANTOMIME

Sign language is based on a visual-movement code with a codified set of signs given by basic positions and movements of the hands accompanied by facial expressions; not only are whole hand movements utilized, but also various changes in finger positions (Linhartová, 2007). Learning sign language is a very challenging and time-consuming process; it cannot be learned at home. The sign system has certain limitations – individual signs are often ambiguous, and sign language has different grammar. For severely hearing-impaired individuals, sign language is a favorable means of communication, as they can use it with less effort, but only if they can see their partner. A disadvantage is the limited number of people who know this way of communicating. A hearing-impaired patient who cannot communicate otherwise would be largely isolated in terms of communication and information. Sign language is, compared to spoken language, a simplified and more economical system of communication.

COMMUNICATION PROBLEMS BETWEEN HEARING-IMPAIRED PATIENTS AND HEARING PATIENTS OR NURSES

Communication with a hearing and fluently speaking partner presents several problems:

- Perception of Speech and Understanding: The compensatory sense of those with severe hearing impairments is sight. Therefore, good visual contact with the communication partner is a prerequisite for acceptable understanding. If it is not established, it must be initiated by touch. Hearing-impaired patients are forced to use a compensatory method involving lip-reading (from the movements of the mouth during articulation) and their potentially limited and problematic auditory perception (Linhartová, 2007).
- Both mentioned variants are psychologically very demanding and exhausting, and their effect does not adequately compensate for the increased effort. This fact influences the hearing-impaired's attitude toward oral communication.
- Dealing with the difficulties in understanding and the significant demands of this endeavor often leads to irritation. The tension caused by effort increases both their anxiety and their propensity for emotional outbursts or other shortcut situations (Šoltés, Pullmann, 2008). Some, on the contrary, retreat into a state of so-called social isolation and resignation. These manifestations can be interpreted as consequences of an unmanaged stressful situation. For those with

hearing impairments, even ordinary communication is a source of stress, which is hard for hearing individuals to imagine.

- Lip-reading is a very difficult way to perceive spoken language. It cannot always be utilized under all circumstances. With sight alone, it is not possible to precisely determine all sounds: some sound differently (p, m, b), even though their kinema (articulatory movement pattern) appears the same; others have no visible articulatory movement (for example, ch), leading to easy confusion, error, distortion, or misunderstanding (Linhartová, 2007).
- Another disadvantage is that the movement of lips changes rapidly during ordinary conversations, and individual kinemas disappear before a person can decode them. Lip-reading is obviously only feasible in communication with an individual in direct visual contact; conversations with larger groups of people cannot logically be conducted in this manner, representing another significant disadvantage for the social life of a hearing-impaired patient. It is assumed that we can capture a maximum of 30% of information through lip-reading. Continuous lip-reading is possible for no more than 30 minutes.

Hearing-impaired individuals have a limited ability to understand the context of communication, which is taken for granted by hearing individuals. Active verbal expression is also problematic. For a person with congenital hearing impairment to acquire active verbal expression, they often also need to memorize a combination of movements and vibrations that are part of articulating a certain word. Teaching and developing oral speech for individuals with severe hearing impairments is highly challenging and often ineffective.

CONCLUSION

"It is very difficult to be unable to hear and yet live among people who communicate with a sound-based language. One feels as if living behind glass: one can observe what others are doing, but does not know why they are doing it and what they are discussing. No human relationship is without problems, and the relationship between hearing-impaired individuals and hearing individuals is no exception. An unpleasant experience with a language barrier leads the hearing-impaired patient to seek isolation from hearing patients or healthcare workers. They form a defensive or suspicious attitude toward hearing individuals (Ptáček, Bartunek, 2015).

However, some misunderstandings cannot be avoided. Our task is not to create a perfect template for behavior toward hearing-impaired patients. It is essential to treat such a patient like a human being, with love and understanding. We must learn to express that people are valuable and needed, especially those who are disadvantaged in any way. Let us not be discouraged by differences!

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Underpricing DACH-region – differences between private capital backed and non- private capital backed companies

Summary

The conducted research consists of an extensive literature review on the causes for underpricing followed by an analysis regarding underpricing of private-equity backed companies on the DACH-market between 2012 and 2019. Literature review showed that the reason for underpricing is information asymmetry and the results of conducted analysis showed that there was no significant degree of underpricing on the DACH-market for private-equity backed companies.

Keywords: Private equity, IPO, post-IPO, underpricing, stock performance, DACH-region.

1. INTRODUCTION

Worldwide the number of Initial public offerings (IPOs), the number of private equity investments and thus the number of private equity backed IPOs is growing. The number of IPOs worldwide reached new heights in 2021. In total 3022 companies went public worldwide in 2021 (Bressman et al 2022). Not only the number of IPOs was record-breaking in 2021, also the number of PE-backed IPOs was higher than ever before. By having a closer look on the European and German market, it can be observed that the growing number of IPOs is also reflected here: The total number of IPOs in Europe grew from 287 in 2012 to 477 in 2021 (PricewaterhouseCoopers 2022). Between 2012 and 2019 within the DACH-

region 244 companies were publicly listed – more than half (144) were PE or VC backed (Bureau van Dijk 2022).

IPOs are a crucial step for firms seeking to raise capital and become publicly traded companies. One of the key challenges for firms undertaking an IPO is to accurately price their shares to maximize their valuation while ensuring that their offering is attractive to investors. However, research has shown that IPOs are often underpriced, leading to significant value losses for the issuing firm. This phenomenon has attracted considerable attention from academics and practitioners alike, and various theories have been proposed to explain it.

One of the most debated factors influencing IPO underpricing is the ownership structure of the issuing firm. This has raised questions about whether the presence of PE investors in the ownership structure of a firm is a contributing factor to the underpricing of IPOs. While some studies have suggested that PE-backed firms are more likely to underprice their IPOs, others postulate the exact opposite.

One possible explanation for a higher underpricing of PE-backed IPOs is that PE-investors may seek to exit their investment quickly after the IPO, leading them to push for a lower IPO price to ensure a successful offering. On the other hand, the being PE-backed can reduce information asymmetry before the IPO takes place, which can lead to less underpricing.

The aim of this research paper is to explore the following research question:

Does being PE-backed imply higher underpricing at IPO?

A range of empirical methods was used to examine the relationship between private equity ownership and IPO underpricing. T-tests and a regression analysis based on a dataset of 62 IPOs in different markets in the DACH region between the beginning of 2012 and the end of 2019 were conducted.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The phenomenon of underpricing occurs with companies that have just gone public. Underpricing is defined as the negative, mostly in percent measured difference between the emission price and the price at which the stock is traded initially on the secondary market (Francis & Hasan, 2001). For the purchasers of the newly emitted shares, this means a profit, but for the issuing company, underpricing means clear opportunity costs, as the issuer could also have demanded a higher price per share (Tanda & Manzi, 2019).

Thus, “underpricing” means that a shareholder achieves profit in the form of a positive return by selling a share on its first closing days price if he bought it at a lower offering price. In contrast, the term “overpricing” is used, when the long-term return of the listed company and the benchmark is below the value at the time of the IPO (van Frederikslust and van der Geest 2001).

There are numerous different explanations for the phenomenon of underpricing, which can be observed worldwide. To keep the focus on the effect of private capital

involvement on underpricing, this following literature review does not provide a comprehensive overview of the different explanatory approaches. Instead, in the following section the most widespread explanatory approaches will be explained.

The most common explanations are based primarily on the principal agent theory or, more specifically, on information asymmetries between different parties. In the context of underpricing, there are three relevant players: issuers, investors, and underwriters (M&A Review, 2018).

The frequently cited explanatory approach according to Rock (1986) is based on the assumption of differently well-informed investors. According to the theory, the well-informed investors are more able to assess the true value of an emission due to their knowledge advantage. If the issue price is overvalued, the well-informed investors would not sign up, which would result in an oversupply of shares, which would be reflected in a negative development on the secondary market. For the less well-informed investor, this leads to a negative subscription yield.

On the other hand, if an emission is undervalued, the well-informed investors will subscribe and the less well-informed investors will try to follow (Rock, 1986). In this case the uninformed investors might be not able to receive the full amount of their order, since they can only purchase the shares that were not subscribed by the well-informed investors. This is commonly known as “the winners curse”. According to this explanatory approach, underpricing thus represents a mechanism to keep both investor types in the game, since the funds of the better informed investors alone are usually not sufficient to buy the newly emitted shares on their own and the less well-informed investors will only remain in the market in the long term if their subscription yield is positive. Particularly in the case of new issues, investors may be hesitant at the outset due to uncertainty. The underpricing creates an incentive for the first movers to purchase the shares and thus trigger further investors (Welch, 1992 / Tanda & Manzi, 2019).

It has been proven that the less information is publicly known about the issuer, the more underpricing occurs. Thus, there is a correlation between the extent of underpricing and the degree of uncertainty (M&A Review, 2018). In any case, the investor has information acquisition costs for which he would like to be compensated in the form of a positive subscription yield (*ibid.*). However, the issuer can use selective signaling to try to convince the investor of the value of the emitted shares.

Since private capital investments bring positive selection effects, it is reasonable to assume that investments by PE companies send a positive signal to investors. The participation of a private equity investor speaks for growth potential and quality of the company, not least due to the experience of the investor and his high level of information about the issuer. Accordingly, the prevailing opinion in the literature for a long time was that private capital-backed IPOs are less affected by underpricing due to the lower level of perceived uncertainty caused by the certification role of investors (*cf.* Francis & Hasan, 2001). This is supported by the findings of Bergström et al. (2006) since they found out that the degree of underpricing is lower if the IPO is PE-backed, which they explain by the assumption that information is evenly distributed among investors since there is more publicity and thus transparency before the IPO takes place.

However, this argument is not uncontested at all. In the meantime, numerous reputable scientific contributions postulate the exact opposite (Tanda & Manzi, 2019 / Lee & Wahal, 2004). According to Lee and Wahal (2004) the core problem when it comes to the examination of the underpricing differential between PE-backed and non-PE backed IPOs is that venture capital backing is not randomly distributed, which causes selectivity bias. Controlling for this factor of endogenous choice they receive empirical results showing that the first day return of PE-backed IPOs is larger than those of non-PE backed emissions. Also, the results of Tanda and Manzi (2019) show that PE backing increases underpricing. The authors attribute these results, to the hypothesis of “analysts coverage” (Tanda & Manzi, 2019) this hypothesis states that companies accept a higher degree of underpricing in order to purchase the analysts’ attention, so to speak (ibid.). Liu and Ritter (2011) argue that companies choose their underwriter mainly by reputation and the analysts industry expertise. This means that especially PE-backed companies accept higher first day returns to gain the attention of highly reputable underwriters with industry experience.

Bergström et al. (2006), even though they found that underpricing occurs less within PE-backed IPOs, indicate that different motives of the issuing company, the underwriter and PE-investors may affect underpricing. While the underwriter might want to achieve underpricing to allocate shares to recurrent investors, private equity investors benefit from underpricing since the IPO success is higher then. This would assume that PE investors seek to increase the value of their own shares by artificially increasing short-term demand and aim for an exit shortly after the issue. The issuing firm itself may target underpricing to differentiate themselves from substandard firms. The reason for that is that they want to prevent substandard firms from imitating their business. In comparison to that, actual low-quality firms want to achieve a high emission share price. All these arguments would support the hypothesis that underpricing occurs stronger among PE-backed companies.

Despite all the disagreement in the academic literature, the authors hypothesize that the involvement of a PE company leads to stronger underpricing. With this assumption, the researchers refer to the recent findings of Tanda and Manzi (2019).

Therefore, the hypothesis underlying this research is:

PE-backed companies are significantly more affected by underpricing at their IPOs than non-PE-backed companies.

3. DATA & METHODS

Data

The first step was to find out which companies were listed within the observed period (January 2012 – December 2019) on the DACH-market. By using the Bureau van Dijk’s database, it was possible to extract the required data. Data from financial institutions (banks, pension funds and insurance companies) were excluded since their performance measures are not directly comparable to industrial or service firms (Mazzola and Marchisio 2002). Additionally, companies that are not listed anymore were also excluded. In addition, all datasets whose data were not complete were excluded from the study. In total, the returns of 62 companies were observed.

36 of the observed companies going public were not PE-backed and 26 of them were PE-backed. The stock prices of the observed companies were retrieved on a monthly basis from Yahoo Finance. Before the statistical analysis was started, the data basis was examined with regard to its reliability.

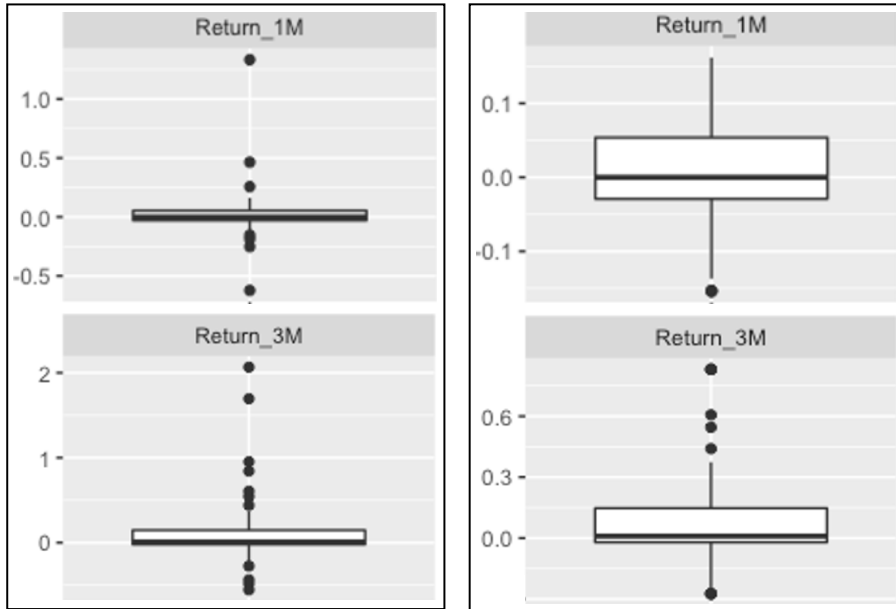


Figure 1. distribution of the data before winsorization

The monthly stock prices were transferred into monthly return data. The return data were tested for normal distribution. As can be seen in the boxplots in figure 1, a few outliers were found. In order to reduce the impact of the outliers on the analysis, a 95% winsorization was applied, meaning that the upper and lower bounds for the data have been set at the 95th percentile and 5th percentile. This means that the top 2.5% and bottom 2.5% of the values in the dataset were replaced by the values at the 95th and 5th percentiles (see figure 2).

Methods

To gauge the performance of the companies, the returns on investment one and three years following the IPO were utilized as performance indicators. As the stock prices vary widely across different companies, the percentage returns on investment served as a useful performance metric. The sample set was segregated into two groups: companies that received capital from a PE investor prior to going public (PE-backed companies) and those that did not involve any investment company (non-PE-backed companies).

To compare the mid-term returns, an undirected difference test, specifically a t-test, was conducted. The null hypothesis for this test was:

H₀: There is no discernible difference in the mid-term financial performance between the IPOs of non-PE-backed and PE-backed companies.

If the results of the test were significant, the null hypothesis could be rejected, and the research hypothesis confirmed by means of falsification.

In addition to this, regression modeling was also implemented, taking into account whether the IPO was conducted in Germany, using it as a control variable in the form of a dummy variable. The regression equation used was:

$$lm(\text{return}) \sim b_0 + b_1 (\text{PE_backed}) + b_2 (\text{Germany}) + E.$$

4. RESULTS

The t-test showed that the mean of returns of PE-backed companies one month after the IPO (+5.56%) are clearly higher than the mean of returns of non-PE backed companies (-0.17%) but the difference was not statistically significant.

t-value	degrees of freedom (df)	p-value
0.89882	27.188	0.3766

Table 1. results of the t-test (returns; 1 month after the IPO)

Therefore, the null hypothesis cannot be falsified.

When the observed time frame was set to 3 months after the IPO, at least on a 10% significance level differences between the two groups in our dataset could be observed:

t-value	degrees of freedom (df)	p-value
1.7849	29.12	0.0847

Table 2. results of the t-test (returns; 3 months after the IPO)

Therefore, the null hypothesis can be rejected at a 10% significance level.

Also, the regression modelling could not deliver any statistically significant results when observing the data one month after the IPO:

	estimate	standard error	t-value	Pr (> t)
intercept (b_0)	-0.008892	0.046380	-0.192	0.849
PE_backed (b_1)	0.061286	0.057762	1.061	0.293
Germany (b_2)	0.014476	0.058517	0.247	0.805

Table 3. results of the regression analysis (returns; 1 month after the IPO)

Even though the estimator suggests that the stock returns of PE-backed companies one month after the IPO are around 6% higher than those of non-PE-backed companies, this result is not significant. Therefore, the null hypothesis cannot be falsified.

Analyzing the data 3 months after the IPO shows that being PE-backed has a significant effect on the returns:

	estimate	standard error	t-value	Pr (> t)
intercept (b_0)	-0.007158	0.087632	-0.082	0.9352
PE_backed (b_1)	0.230841	0.109137	2.115	0.0387
Germany (b_2)	0.067517	0.110564	0.611	0.5438

Table 4. results of the regression analysis (returns; 3 months after the IPO)

The results show, that PE-backed companies on average deliver 23% higher returns within the first three months after the IPO than non-PE-backed companies. The null hypothesis can be rejected at a 5% significance level. This is robust when controlling for German IPOs.

5. LIMITATIONS

It's important to note that while higher short-term returns may be an indication of higher underpricing, they do not necessarily imply that the company was underpriced at the time of the IPO. There could be other factors that contribute to higher short-term returns, such as positive market sentiment or favorable economic conditions. Additionally, higher short-term returns may not necessarily be sustainable in the long-term.

Therefore, while it's reasonable to suggest that higher short-term returns could be a sign of higher underpricing, it's important to interpret the results with caution and consider other factors that may be driving the observed returns.

Furthermore, there are several limitations to consider when interpreting the findings of the study, which include:

Assumptions of the statistical tests: The statistical tests used, such as the t-test and regression analysis, rely on certain assumptions, such as normality and homogeneity of variance. As seen in the boxplots the dataset was not perfectly normal distributed.

Data limitations: The study is reliant on the quality and availability of the data used. It's possible that the data set could not be reliable since several IPOs could not be considered due to missing data and were excluded in the course of the data cleansing.

Time horizon: The study only examines returns and underpricing of IPOs at one and three months after the IPO. It's possible that the differences in returns and underpricing between PE-backed and non-PE-backed companies could change over longer time horizons.

Causation: The analysis only provides evidence of a correlation between private equity investment and lower underpricing of IPOs, and between private equity investment and higher returns. It does not establish causation, meaning that it's not clear whether being private equity-backed directly causes these outcomes, or if other factors may be influencing the relationship.

Generalizability: The results of the study may not be generalizable to all companies or markets. The findings may only apply to the specific sample of companies or time period studied.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Examining underpricing in more detail requires a more comprehensive analysis of various factors that influence the pricing and valuation of IPOs. Here are a few ways to examine underpricing in more detail:

Long-term returns: It is important to note that examining underpricing alone may not provide a complete picture of the relationship between private equity investment and post-IPO performance. While lower underpricing may suggest greater investor confidence in the company's prospects, it does not necessarily translate into long-term returns. Therefore, it would be beneficial to conduct additional analyses to examine the longer-term performance of PE-backed and non-PE-backed companies following their IPOs, and to investigate potential factors that may mediate or moderate the relationship between private equity investment and post-IPO performance.

Comparison to industry benchmarks: To determine whether a particular IPO is underpriced, it is useful to compare its offering price and subsequent returns to other companies in the same industry. If the IPO has a lower offering price and a higher short- and long-term return compared to other companies in the same industry, it is likely that the IPO was underpriced.

Institutional factors: Examining the institutional factors that may influence the IPO pricing and valuation can provide insights into the underlying reasons for underpricing. For example, factors such as the reputation of the underwriter, the size and composition of the underwriting syndicate, the number of institutional investors participating in the offering, and the lock-up period for insiders can all impact the IPO pricing and valuation.

Market conditions: The state of the overall market can also impact IPO pricing and valuation. During periods of high market volatility or economic uncertainty, IPOs may be underpriced to ensure a successful offering. Conversely, during periods of market stability or growth, IPOs may be priced more accurately or even overpriced.

Overall, examining underpricing in more detail requires a more comprehensive analysis of various factors that influence IPO pricing and valuation. By considering both short- and long-term returns, comparing the IPO to industry benchmarks, examining institutional factors, and analyzing market conditions, researchers can gain a better understanding of the extent and underlying reasons for underpricing.

7. CONCLUSION

From literature review it can be concluded that the main reason for underpricing is information asymmetry. Researchers are at odds, whether PE-backed companies are rather more often affected by underpricing or not. The conducted research showed that shareholders of PE-backed companies benefited from a higher return within the first quarter post IPO.

Litarature review also showed that there is no uniform opinion on underpricing since some studies suggested that PE-backed firms tend to underprice their IPOs, other researchers state the exact opposite. Researchers agree that there is a correlation between the extent of underpricing and the degree of uncertainty.

For our conducted research, short-term returns one month after the IPO were used as an indicator of underpricing and t-test were conducted. It turned out that the mean of returns of PE-backed companies one month after the IPO are higher than the mean of returns of non-PE backed companies but that the outperformance is not statistically significant. Also when using regression modelling no statistical significant difference was found.

Three months post IPO, at least on a 10%-significance level the t-test suggested differences between the two groups in our dataset. As the regression analysis showed, the returns of PE-backed companies three months after the IPO are around 23% higher than those of non-PE-backed companies. This is valid at a 5%-significance level.

As mentioned above, higher short-term returns may be an indication of a higher degree of underpricing. Nevertheless, they do not necessarily imply that the company was underpriced at the time of the IPO. Other factors may have caused higher short-term returns, such as a positive market sentiment or good economic conditions. It has to be taken into account that higher short-term returns may not necessarily be sustainable in the long-term and thus do not necessarily lead to a long-term outperformance.

According to our research results, it is not possible to say with certainty that being PE-backed is a reason for underpricing since other factors may be influencing the relationship. As mentioned above, examining institutional factors, and analyzing market conditions is recommended in order to gain a better understanding of the extent and underlying reasons for underpricing.

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Specificities of selected cultures and importance of autonomy in patients with a different culture

Summary

Multicultural nursing is defined as a comparative, humanistic, practical, and theoretical field focused on the details and differences in care for various cultures along with their sets of values, life habits, and beliefs, aiming to provide appropriate actions in health and disease. The goal of multicultural nursing is to offer culturally specific and universally applicable care in support of health, or to eliminate risk situations, illnesses, and death. The prerequisite for applying a multicultural approach is self-awareness, avoiding cultural prejudices and negative attitudes towards others, as well as distorted understandings of other cultures. In the paper, the authors analyze individual cultures and ethnicities and describe their specificities based on cultural traditions.

Keywords: Multicultural nursing, autonomy, health attitudes, tolerance, nursing care.

Culture represents a complex system of values and social norms that guide the members of a given society, and customs and rules are passed from generation to generation. Culture makes us unique beings, and by adhering to customs and norms, we are perceived as individuals (Nováková, 2008). Therefore, nursing care for patients from other cultures should be culturally sensitive. We cannot be sensitive to someone unless we are interested in and understand why someone is "different" to us, what principles, norms, and values they recognize, and what guides their behavior.

Nurses are expected to be knowledgeable about various cultures, be prepared to communicate with members of other cultures, assess the current health status of a patient from a different culture, including needs associated with that culture, and provide culturally congruent and appropriate care. Thus, nurses should possess knowledge from the field of multicultural nursing to provide meaningful nursing practice.

When delivering nursing care, cultural integrity is of great importance, that is, respecting the individual, being aware of the diversity of their cultural beliefs and practices, in order to provide safe and quality nursing care by modifying the nursing care plan to take into account the patient's views and practices that are compatible with their treatment regimen (Ivanová, Špirudová et al., 2005).

Basic concepts in multicultural psychology include "stereotype" and "prejudice." Stereotypes represent standardized notions, often emotionally charged, stable, and almost independent of individuals' lived experiences. They are transmitted to individuals through social learning, such as family, school, and surroundings. They form the ideas that people have about themselves, their environment, and members of other groups with which they may not identify.

Prejudices usually represent negative attitudes towards a certain group of people as a whole or towards an individual belonging to a specific group or community. They involve both irrational and rational ideas about a particular group, leading to subsequent behaviors towards that group. The rational component of prejudice is primarily considered to be the differing ways of life and lifestyle, including different customs, behaviors, and expressions. Factors influencing prejudices include family, upbringing, psychological needs, and social status (Marádová, 2006).

There is no country or nation in the world where its members do not share certain biased attitudes towards members of other countries or cultures. When prejudices are aimed at certain ethnic or racial groups, we speak of ethnic or racial prejudices (Marada, 2006). The development of prejudices is primarily governed by the culture of the environment from which a person originates, meaning that during enculturation, an individual takes in both the positive values, norms, and traditions, as well as the negatives of that culture (Prucha, 2010). Transcultural understanding of competencies in nursing requires knowing and understanding different cultures and non-standard conditions, enhancing interactions between nurses and individuals from different cultures, which necessitates mutual understanding, recognition, acceptance, cooperation, and a willingness to exchange opinions, ideas, suggestions, and potential solutions (Nováková, 2008). The issue of multiculturalism and new trends in health care for the population are closely linked to the globalization of the world and the respect for the cultural specifics of individual communities.

For nurses, understanding the concept of cultural differences is essential:

- They may be perceived as differences in mutual understanding that arise from language barriers and subsequent communication issues, but also from specific aspects of non-verbal communication.
- This includes other social customs and behavioral rules.

- There is a different level of knowledge about health and illness, as well as opinions and beliefs concerning health, illness, and treatment procedures within a given society (Mastiliaková, 2003).
- There are differences in values that are important to the individual as well as to a particular society.

Culturally respectful nursing acknowledges the opinions, traditions, and cultural specifics of individuals, families, and communities, resulting in what is termed culturally sensitive care. Culturally diverse nursing care is intentionally focused on individuals, families, and communities with differing cultural specifics (Gulášová, Jandová, Bohmelová, 2008).

CULTURAL SPECIFICITIES IN THE ROMA ETHNIC GROUP

Among the external characteristics of Roma people are their language, dark hair and eyes, and medium to dark skin. They prefer vibrant colors and shiny decorations in their appearance. Family plays a significant patriarchal role and constitutes the foundation of Roma community life. It is characteristic of Roma families to have an above-average number of children, which leads to a louder way of life. The will of the individual is conditioned by the will of the family. A traditional Roma family means living in a larger multi-generational family setting. This explains the situation in which, if one family member falls ill, the entire family accompanies them to the doctor. Respect for the elderly is very important; Roma elders rarely occur in nursing homes. Most Roma identify with the Roman Catholic Church.

Care for the sick is primarily a women's role. Poor dietary habits significantly impact the health of the Roma community. Traditional Roma cuisine is absolutely unhealthy in terms of rational nutrition, as they prefer spicy dishes, which are usually served fried or stewed. Fruit and vegetables are largely absent. Health becomes a priority only in the presence of visible symptoms of disease. Their attitude towards healthcare personnel is ambivalent. On one hand, they respect healthcare workers, understanding that they want to help improve their health, and see doctors as those who know how to heal them; on the other hand, they can also be seen as bearers of bad news and diagnostic verdicts (Bartošovič, Hegyi, 2010). Roma people experience fear of pain and death, even if their health status is not serious. They express pain both verbally and non-verbally. Information about their health status is typically provided to a family member, either to the male head of the family or to the mother. Roma individuals generally prefer to communicate only with the head or chief physician of the department (Gulášová, 2018).

Without their family, they feel dependent and fearful, lacking willpower, perseverance, and patience. On the other hand, they are spontaneous, possess a lively temperament, and have heightened sensitivity to injustice. Health ranks third in their value system, while love and family take precedence. Healthcare workers should be aware that medications and treatments will only be used until symptoms subside; if their health improves, they will stop treatment. Education and respect for the value system of the Roma ethnic group are very important. To improve the overall state within Roma communities, the role of Roma assistants has been established, whose mission is to help, guide, and educate Roma individuals in settlements towards a healthy lifestyle.

CULTURAL SPECIFICITIES IN VIETNAMESE CULTURE

Vietnamese people belong to the Asian race, and they are generally shorter than the European average. They have yellow-brown skin, dark eyes, and dark brown to black, shiny, straight hair. Their weight generally corresponds to their height, and obesity is usually not an issue. Both men and women have less noticeable body hair. Their faces are characterized by small noses and slanted eye openings (Phung, Phuong, 2006).

The life philosophy of Vietnamese people includes the concepts of yin (darkness, cold, moisture) and yang (light, warmth, dryness) as a balance and harmony. They believe that an imbalance of these forces leads to illness (Hlavatá, 2008). Healthcare facilities are visited only in necessary cases. Traditional Vietnamese culture often seeks healers to provide remedies and herbs; in some cases, spiritual treatments may be sought. In the event that a member of the Vietnamese ethnic group is hospitalized, it is essential to explain procedures and tests as clearly and simply as possible.

The family structure is patriarchal, with the father considered the head of the family while the mother manages the household (Kocourek et al., 2006).

They usually eat three meals a day, with lunch and dinner being the main meals. The whole family gathers to eat. They enjoy leafy vegetables and fruits and consume rice with every meal. Cold drinks are not customary, as they primarily drink warm teas or room temperature water. They tend to use less salt.

What should nurses know if a patient from the Vietnamese ethnic group is hospitalized or visits the outpatient department?

During introductions, the nurse should extend their right hand for a handshake while gently grasping it with their left hand, as offering an item with one hand is considered rude; items should be offered with both hands. During communication, one should not look directly into the eyes, as this can be interpreted as superiority or discourteousness. If the patient requests the presence of a family member, it is necessary to accommodate this request, as family presence can help alleviate the stress of illness and the unfamiliar hospital environment. The seriousness of the patient's health condition should first be discussed with a family member. Privacy is crucial during patient examinations, especially for women, as they tend to be shy. They maintain personal hygiene themselves, and if they are unable to, they may ask relatives for help. The fear of pain medication side effects and the possibility of addiction may prevent them from requesting pain relief (Le Van, 2017), making it important to administer medications regularly according to the doctor's orders. They address fatigue with sleep, as it is part of the healing process. Gentle touch on the head is considered a sign of disrespect in this community, so it is advisable to avoid this unless absolutely necessary.

CULTURAL SPECIFICITIES IN JEWISH CULTURE

A person is considered Jewish if they have a Jewish mother or have converted to Judaism by orthodox standards. Judaism is the monotheistic religion of the Jewish people.

Regarding the intake of food and the provision of this biological necessity, nurses should be aware that Judaism is divided into three theological schools:

- Orthodox School: Strictly adheres to kosher laws.
- Conservative School: Formally observes kosher laws.
- Reform School: Less stringent in adhering to rituals and minimally follows dietary laws (Franek, 2009).

The holiest day is the Sabbath, which begins every Friday 18 minutes before sunset and ends on Saturday 42 minutes after sunset. During the Sabbath, Jews may refuse medical care if it is not a life-threatening situation.

Eating is very important to Jews, and they follow principles described as kosher – what is fit to eat. Pork, camel meat, milk, shellfish, snakes, and caviar are forbidden (Duková, 2013). Kosher or kashrut meat must come from cloven-hoofed and ruminant animals, such as sheep, cattle, goats, and deer. They may eat fish, but only those with scales and fins, as well as poultry.

The main rule of kashrut is the separation of dairy and meat meals. It is not enough to separate them; different vessels must be used for each type of food. Only Orthodox Jews strictly observe kashrut. They generally do not visit restaurants or fast-food establishments (Gold et al., 2010). Some healthcare facilities offer kosher meals served on paper plates and sealed.

Jewish law requires Jews to seek qualified healthcare. They may accept blood, medications, vaccinations, and can undergo biopsies and amputations (Mastiliaková, 2003). Only Orthodox Jews must be buried whole, which is why it is important to return any removed parts to the family. Organ donation is unacceptable for Orthodox Jews. Artificial termination of pregnancy is permitted only under the threat of physical or mental health to the mother. Abortions and vasectomies at the woman's request are not acceptable (Duková, 2013).

FAMILY MEMBERS AND FRIENDS FROM THE SYNAGOGUE VISIT PATIENTS IN THE HOSPITAL.

Euthanasia is unacceptable within Judaism. Before burial, the body is ritually washed and then wrapped in a white shroud. Cosmetic alterations are not permitted. Displaying the body is seen as disrespectful to the deceased. The body should be buried as soon as possible. Cremation is unacceptable.

CULTURAL SPECIFICITIES IN ARAB CULTURE

Arabs adhere to Islam, a monotheistic religion. Islam means "submission," and the social life of Muslims is based on principles that ensure the prosperity of both the individual and society as a whole. The foundational text of Islam is the Qur'an, which addresses personal conduct, dress, adornment, and behavior. Islam places significant importance on physical, moral, and ritual purity (Giger, Davidhiraz, 2004). The opposite of purity is contamination, which can be caused by contact with

things deemed unclean, such as alcohol, impure animals, blood, pus, or the body of the opposite sex. Severe contamination occurs through sexual intercourse, sperm excretion, menstruation, and childbirth. In a state of contamination, one is prohibited from praying, handling the Qur'an, or remaining in a mosque. This contamination can be removed through washing (Camphina – Bacote, 1999).

In Muslim countries, it is customary for men and women to be strictly separated. There are strictly orthodox Muslims who refuse to shake hands with the opposite sex. Touch and contact between men and women is taboo, and prolonged eye contact is unacceptable.

It is crucial to prepare patients for contact with the opposite sex during examinations; if possible, a family member should accompany them during assessments (Muslims insist on this requirement) (Mistrík et al., 2001).

The Qur'an addresses dietary restrictions, outlining what is prohibited; alcohol, pork, and raw or undercooked meat are forbidden. Muslims adhere to special courtesies at the table; if possible, they take food only with their right hand, as the left hand is reserved for "unclean purposes." They do not cut bread with knives but break it, and they do not slurp or loudly gulp water. Water should always be consumed in its entirety or offered to a neighbor and never spilled (Andrews, Boyle, 1999).

CONCLUSION

Modern nursing, which has transcended barriers, is evolving with new creative thinking and a commitment to human rights, requiring respect for a holistic and simultaneously individual approach. The aim is to meet the bio-psycho-social and spiritual needs of individuals, groups, and communities. The foundation of a multicultural approach in nursing is proper knowledge, identification (assessment) of the needs of patients from cultures other than our own, and addressing those needs while considering their current state of health.

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Specificities of selected cultures and importance of autonomy in patients with a different culture

Summary

Health Humanization: in the Samaritan Parable according to the dignity foundations.

There is a new dignity foundations to the Health humanization that right now is making up do a new sense nby the Samarita parable according to Luce in the Gospel.

Keywords: S.Luce Gospel, Samaritan parable, new health humanization, and Human dignity.

INTRODUÇÃO

Quando se aplica a palavra – *dignitas* – à pessoa humana, estamos a considerá-la como um *finis per se*, como o primeiro critério de contrastação para a valorização ética dos fins pretendidos.

Segundo muitos autores, esta significa o *valere* intrínseco e insubstituível que corresponde ao *Homo Sapiens sapiens*, em razão da sua “suidade” segundo X. Zubiri ou do seu *esse*, na linha de S. Tomás de Aquino, como perfeição do existir e do agir, moralmente “bom” (*bonum*).¹

A dignidade *qua talis* é um atributo do ser humano e a humanização predica-se desta, surgindo como “predicado”, possuindo dimensões (individual, social ou colectiva),

¹ Cf. U. Ferrer – “La dignidad y el sentido de la vida”, in: *Cuadernos de Bioética*, 16-2 (1996) 191.

no sentido em que seja acompanhada da necessidade dos presentes e da comunidade, em que o indivíduo se inclui, respeitem o *librium arbitrium* e os seus direitos como considera M. Puelles. O termo e conceito de “dignidade” admite duas acepções, ora como forma de se comportar (digna ou indignamente) ou como superioridade e importância de um ser (*esse*) independentemente do seu comportamento.²

Pensar-se-ia, mas por força das éticas narrativas ou discursivas da Escola de Frankfurt (Adorno, Hockenheimer e Habermas), o conceito de dignidade humana ser uma “narrativa” singular, não havendo lugar para a universalidade da “razão axiológica”, que segundo P. Barba tem em conta a pluralidade de manifestações da dignidade e multiplicidade de perspectivas, onde se manifesta a necessidade de respeito à mesma.³ A dignidade humana obedecerá, neste enquadramento, à razão discursiva (Escola de Frankfurt) e não à razão procedimental (Kant).

Mas, as pessoas que se encontram na vulnerabilidade humana, no limite, quando a “dignidade” parece *abscondita*, então é que é *revelata* (desvalido no caminho da parábola), entre as impossibilidades efectivas de exercer as características mais especificamente humanas, estando na identificação da especificidade de tal *dignitas* e da sua origem.

Em numerosas ocasiões, e a parábola do Bom Samaritano é sinónimo disso mesmo, entre a tomada de decisões e de estilos de relação interpessoal de ajuda, bem como na elaboração de programas de integração de diferentes excluídos ou ao prestar cuidados a “desvalidos no caminho”, sobressai a pergunta: Será sempre a pessoa humana “digna” de ser respeitada e cuidada sem limites? A parábola do comportamento exemplar, pelo Samaritano, na busca da dignidade do *Homo Viator*, enquanto *Homo Dolens* apresenta uma resposta “concreta” pela “com-paixão”, onde está o crucificado, como imagem de Deus, e “vestígio do homem” (o rosto).

Entretanto, a “com-paixão” confirma a associação inseparável que existe entre o amor (Bom Samaritano) e o sofrimento (semi-vivo), quanto maior é o amor, maior é o sofrimento e vice-versa. O sofrimento manifesta a sinceridade e a profundidade do amor⁴. Como esquema de humanização, nos cuidados, a parábola do desvalido no caminho e a narrativa da conduta digna e sem limite (axiologicamente concreta) do Samaritano manifesta a resposta à pergunta anterior. Daqui que a “dignidade” tem tanto de fenomenológico e de axiológico, quanto de teológico (como “vivência”, segundo S. Gregório de Nisa).

1 – Mas, porque é digno o ser humano e onde radica a referida dignidade? Porque é mais digno do que qualquer outro ser?

Olhando para o problema e tentando uma resposta fenomenológico-gnoseológica, Kant referiu, na “Metafísica dos Costumes” (1785), como condição *sine qua non* para que algo seja fim em si mesmo, como valor interno

² Cf. A. Millan Puelles – *Persona humana y justicia social*, Madrid: Rialp, 1982², 15. Certamente, que surge como complementaridade, no pensar e no agir, porque uma pessoa comportar-se-á dignamente quando a sua conduta se adequar à sua condição superior e ao destinatário da sua relação. De contrário o comportamento será infra-humano.

³ Cf. P. Puelles – *Los valores superiores*, Madrid: Tecnos, 1984, 111-112.

⁴ Cf. J. A. Pinheiro Teixeira – *Sofro, logo Existo*, Lisboa: Multinova, 2002, 133.

isto, é, a dignidade⁵. Segundo o deontologismo kantiano, a dignidade humana “aparece” numa das formulações do imperativo categórico: actua de tal modo que trata da humanidade, quer na tua pessoa, quer na pessoa do outro, não como mero meio, mas como fim. Segundo Kant, a – gutte Wille –, na medida em que agisse só sob a condição de uma legislação universal possível pelas suas máximas, esta vontade que nos é possível na ideia, é o objecto próprio do respeito, e a dignidade da humanidade consiste na capacidade de ser legislador universal, se bem que com a condição de estar ao mesmo tempo submetido a essa mesma legislação.⁶ M. Vidal aponta a dignidade humana como qualidade ôntica e axiológica que não admite o mais ou o menos. Entretanto, na sua singularidade praxica, a categoria ética da dignidade humana possui uma orientação preferencial para todos aqueles que se encontram “desvalidos” ou desfigurados (doentes, pobres, oprimidos ou marginalizados, etc.).⁷

A dignidade humana é um conceito analógico ou polisémico, que se pode predicar universalmente da pessoa humana.

Dizer que algo é digno ou tem dignidade significa *a priori* reconhecê-la como sendo superior a outra realidade e implica uma conduta de “respeito”.⁸

Assim, a dignidade humana não é um atributo físico ou natural, mas antes um predicado que se revela universal e transcendentemente de toda a pessoa. A dignidade não se tem, sendo algo que se realiza no ser (*esse*), referenciando a “lógica do ser”, por isso como transcendental que é, será o *splendor boni*. Tratando-se de uma característica do *bonum ac vallere* – coloca o homem num nível superior do existir (*esse*), como perfeição suprema e absoluta, com superioridade a todos os existentes na Terra.⁹

⁵ No reino dos fins, tudo tem um preço ou uma dignidade. (...) Mas, o que está acima de todo o preço e não admite nada de equivalente, isto possui uma dignidade (...) Pelo que, podemos agora explicar-nos facilmente como sucede que, ainda quando nos representamos sob o conceito de dever, uma sujeição à lei, possamos achar não obstante simultaneamente uma certa sublimidade e “dignidade” na pessoa que cumpre todos os seus deveres.

“Man kann aus dem Kurz Vorbergehenden sich jetzt leicht erklären, wie es zugehe; daß, ob wir gleich unter dem Begriffe von Pflicht uns eine Unterwürfigkeit unter dem Gesetze, denken, wir uns dadurch doch zugleich eine gewisse Erhabenheit und Würde an derjenigen Person vorstellen, die alle ihre Pflichten erfüllt” (Kant – *Gründlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten* in: *Schriften in: Schriften zur Ethik und Religions - philosophie, - Werke – Band 6, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1981, 74).*

⁶ Kant conclui, antes de enunciar a autonomia da vontade, o princípio supremo da moralidade: “Unser eigener Wille, so fern er, nur unter der Bedingung einer durch seine Maximen möglichen allgemeinen Gesetzgebung, handelln würde, dieser uns mögliche Wille in der Idee, ist der eigentliche Gegenstand der Achtung, und die Würde der Menschheit besteht eben in dieser Fähigkeit, allgemein Gesetzgehend, obgleich mit dem Beding, eben dieser Gesetzgebung zugleich selbst unterworfen zu sein” (*Ibidem*, 74).

⁷ Cf. M. Vidal – “Valor absoluto de la persona” in: *Communio*, 4 (1982), 64. Segundo este famoso bioeticista e teólogo da moralidade, um paradigma bíblico encontra-se na narrativa lucânica (Luc 10, 25-37) do Bom Samaritano. A dignidade humana verdadeira marca encontro com o “semi-vivo” que está no caminho, porque Ele (na Cruz) é o caminho, a verdade e a vida.

⁸ Respeito e dignidade são conceitos correlacionados axiologicamente. A dignidade conleva o respeito e este é o sentimento adequado, frente a uma realidade digna como a “pessoa”, na linha da “inteligência emotiva” de D. Golman. O Bom Samaritano, no seu comportamento (viu, aproximou-se, removeram-se as vísceras, cuidou, levou à estagem, pagou os cuidados prestados ao desvalido), trespassou todos os marcos da “inteligência emotiva”, levando o sentimento à qualidade de cuidados humanizados.

⁹ F. Torraza assevera a dignidade humana a partir de dimensões básicas, entendendo-a

Um dos problemas fundamentais da epistemologia da ética reside em referir a “dignidade humana”, ora como uma tautologia, ora como dimensão da pessoa. Segundo o Circulo de Viena (neopositivismo), muito particularmente, por influência de L. Wittgenstein, a dignidade da pessoa é uma “tautologia”. Sob orientação da lógica simbólica, a “tautologia” passou, à filosofia da linguagem, como um não “bilder der realtaet”, (deixa à realidade todo o espaço lógico-infinito), sendo a dignidade a imagem da pessoa e esta *per se* “digna”, nada acrescentando ao seu desvelamento axiológico.¹⁰ A dignidade, além de tautológica, radica na linguagem, sendo esta a “fala do mundo místico” de L. Wittgenstein (*Tractatus Logico – Philosophicus*, Frankfurt, 1969, 4.46; 4.482).

- 2 – Contudo, a forma mais clássica de abordar epistemologicamente a dignidade surge como “dimensão ou atributo” da pessoa.

A pessoa, na sua dignidade, como dimensão ontológica, tem um primeiro eco em Aristóteles ao considerar, na Ética a Nicómaco, o homem como único animal, dotado de “voûs” (*ratio*), que serve para que este escolha entre o útil e o prejudicial, ou entre o justo e o injusto. Há um elemento “divino” que o eleva e o torna virtuoso.

Igualmente, S. Tomás de Aquino coloca o Homem no ápice da natureza criada, quando diz: *persona significat id quod est perfectissimum in tota natura, scilicet subsistens in natura rationali*.¹¹

A dignidade da pessoa radica no ser (*esse*) e não no *agere*. É-se digno por ser pessoa. Nesta perspectiva metafísica, a pessoa é digna intrinsecamente, não por razões adjacentes. Afirmar a dignidade da pessoa significa que não se pode atentar contra ela, nem tratá-la de forma inferior à sua categoria ontológica. Porém, S. Tomás vai mais longe e permite-se uma inferência teológica, tirada do Génesis, onde o homem é uma criatura feita à imagem e semelhança de Deus e capaz de orientar as suas opções numa contínua tensão para com Ele. Esta tensão leva-o à conquista da “dignidade”.¹² A dignidade ontológica é irreduzível e constitutiva, pertence a toda a pessoa pelo facto de ser pessoa, incondicionalmente ligada à natureza racional e livre.

Assim, a pessoa é digna de um amor e respeito fundamentais, independentemente de condições singulares. A dignidade ontológica tem um carácter não *esse ad* (relativo), e, neste sentido, diz R. Guardini que sacrificar a integridade da pessoa

como o mais sublime do ser humano: a *dignidade ontológica*, (que se refere ao *esse*, ao acto como perfeição); *dignidade ética* (expressão valorativa do agir humano); *dignidade jurídica* (reflexo dos textos legais); *dignidade volitiva* (relacionada com o exercício da liberdade). Logo, o termo “dignidade” indica um atributo comum a todos os homens, que sem o seu reconhecimento não se pode exercer a liberdade e, muito menos, a justiça. (Cf. *Idem* – *Antropologia del cuidar*, Madrid: Instituto Borja de Bioética, 1998, 99-107).

¹⁰ Cf. R. D. Borges de Meneses – “Tautologia”, in: *Enciclopédia Luso-Brasileira de Cultura*, vol. 17, Lisboa: Editorial Verbo, 1975, 1104-1105.

¹¹ S. Thoma Aquinatis – *Summa contra Gentiles*, III, 110, in: *Opera Omnia*, 2, Stuttgart: F. Frommann-Verlag, 97-98.

¹² **Pela abertura a Deus, no amor, o Homem exprime o máximo respeito para com Ele, retribuindo-lhe o mesmo respeito que Deus teve para com o homem, como o livro da sabedoria assinala: *cum magna reverentia disponis nos*. (Ben-si-rá, 12, 10)**

por um fim qualquer, incluindo o mais elevado, significaria não só um crime, como também uma delapidação. A pessoa possui uma dignidade absoluta.¹³

A dignidade humana, também, aparece como uma “dimensão ética”. Aqui, manifesta-se por actos (agere) que “dignificam” o ser humano, e existem actos que são indignos, sendo orientada esta dignidade moral pelo axioma: *bonum est faciendum malumque vitandum*.

De acordo com Kant, o homem possui valor *per se*, que não será substituído por outra realidade e possui uma dignidade moral (intocável), em virtude da sua racionalidade e autonomia. O Homem é o único sujeito de actos morais bons e rectos. A moralidade é a condição da sua “dignidade” (*dignitas*). O imperativo categórico (age de maneira que trates o homem, tanto em ti, como nos outros, sempre com um fim e nunca apenas como um meio) não depende de nada externo, mas unicamente da vontade livre, que se manifesta na obediência à lei moral, independentemente do conhecimento de Deus.

A “razão prática”, segundo Kant, orienta-nos para a dignidade humana, dado que é a combinação do intelecto e da vontade, a união fundamental das faculdades decisivas da vida moral. A nossa vontade é o objecto próprio do respeito e a dignidade humana consiste nesta capacidade de ser legislador universal.¹⁴

Para Schüller, no seguimento de Kant, a expressão da “liberdade do espírito” chama-se dignidade. A exigência do homem fundamenta-se no facto de ele ser fim de si mesmo e identificar-se com a sua dignidade pessoal. A moralidade do homem consiste na tomada de posição do Homem, perante o seu ser considerado, na sua totalidade, e só a vontade livre determina a opção moral.¹⁵

Segundo S. Kierkegaard, a dignidade é como um estar ante Deus por meio do amor e da liberdade, onde o homem se decide por Deus, escolhendo-o como objecto radical e fim último da sua existência. A dignidade depende do amor e da liberdade.

A dignidade da pessoa sugere uma dimensão existencial, estando em estreita relação com a condição de vulnerabilidade. Aqui aparece a ética da fragilidade. O *homo habilis*, como reflectira P. Ricoeur, expressando de forma precisa a natureza da realidade humana, fundamenta uma ética humanizadora, a partir da compreensão da pessoa, na sua dignidade, como vulnerável, débil e pertencente à comunidade humana, capaz de fazer sê-la e substituir. A vida humana é digna porque especialmente “frágil” e sempre no limite, exprime-

¹³ Cf. R. Guardini – *Mundo y persona*, tradução do alemão, Madrid: Cristiandad, 1967², 212.

¹⁴ “Demnach muß ein jedes vernünftige Wesen so handeln, als ob es durch seine Maximen jederzeit ein Gesetzgebendesglied im allgemeinen Reiche der Zwecke wäre. Das formale Prinzip dieser Maximen ist: handle so, als ob deine Maxime zugleich zum allgemeinen Gesetze (aller vernünftigen Wesen) dienen sollte” (I. Kant – *Ibidem*, 72).

Assim, enquanto a dignidade está submetida à lei moral não há nela sublimidade alguma; mas, há-de sim na medida em que ela é ao mesmo tempo legisladora em relação a essa lei moral e só por isso lhe está subordinada. Também se poderá dizer que será o respeito à lei, que constitui o móbil que pode dar à acção um valor ético.

¹⁵ Cf. B. Schüller – *L'uomo veramente uomo*, tradução do alemão, Palermo: Edi Ofiter, 1987, 16-20.

se ora no riso ora no pranto.¹⁶ Esta expressão de “pranto”, como símbolo da fragilidade humana, constitui um rasgo fundamental que revela a condição humana da vulnerabilidade e desencadeia a dimensão ética. Nesta dimensão, a dignidade apresenta-se na condição de vulnerabilidade.¹⁷

A fundamentação da dignidade humana, pela humanização, está em que Deus mesmo assumiu a condição humana – dignificando-a – e fez triunfar o amor, precisamente, na “debilidade” do desvalido (semi-vivo), na narrativa de Lucas (Luc. 10, 25-37), que está presente, pela paixão e morte, na Cruz.

A dignidade humana, como dimensão teológica, interpela à razão o testemunho de um homem que a contradiz permanentemente pela dinâmica do amor, ao contrariar a razoabilidade das situações de exclusão de doentes e de marginais, mediante o abrandamento que produz a – admiração do rosto humano fragilizado –, como critério para encontrar nele a dignidade incondicional. A dignidade humana, pela fragilidade, é uma “quénose” de Deus ao Homem.

Assim, o hino da Carta aos Filipenses refere que Cristo Jesus, que era de condição divina, não reivindicou o direito de ser equiparado a Deus, mas despojou-se a si mesmo, tomando a condição de servo, tornando-se semelhante aos homens. Tido pelo aspecto como homem, humilhou-se a si mesmo, feito obediente até à morte e morte de Cruz (Fil. 2, 6-7). A humanização do Verbo de Deus é uma “quénose”. Assim, a humanização em saúde é uma “quénose” quer do clínico (impotente para sarar os males físicos) e a “quénose” do doente, porque está no “aniquilamento” da doença ou na sua *sanitatis instauratio*.

3 – O Desvalido no Caminho é uma narrativa da “quénose” do “semi-vivo”, (Jesus Cristo) que está a caminho da cruz. A respeito desta atitude de Cristo,

¹⁶ Assim, interpreta P. Ricoeur: “...nous reviendrons ensuite au moyen terme – ἰσχυρός – afin de comprendre la fragilité de l’homme tout entier par celle du sentiment. La amplitude et la disproportion du sentiment sont donc d’abord une suite de celles du connaître.” (Cf. P. Ricoeur – *Finitude et culpabilité*, 1, *L’Homme Faillible*, Paris: Aubier, 1960, 108). (...) On peut placer sous le signe de ce ἰσχυρός ambigu et fragile, toute la région médiane de la vie affective entre les affections vitales et les affections spirituelles, bref toute l’affectivité qui fait la transition entre le vivre et le penser, entre βίος et λόγος. Il est remarquable que c’est dans cette région intermédiaire que se constitue *un soi*, différent des êtres naturels et différent d’autrui.

Le vivre et le penser, dont nous avons exploré les affections spécifiques sous le signe de l’ἐπιθυμία et de l’ἔρως, sont tout à tous en deçà ou au-delà du Soi ; c’est seulement avec le ἰσχυρός, que le désir revêt le caractère de différence et de subjectivité qui en fait tenance à une communauté ou à une idée. Le Soi est en a sens lui-même un “entre-deux”, une transition. (*Ibidem*, 123).

¹⁷ “Ce qui j’attends d’autrui c’est qu’il me rende l’image de mon humanité, qu’il m’estime en me déclarant mon humanité. Ce reflet fragile de moi-même dans l’opinion d’autrui a la consistance d’un objet, il recèle l’objectivité d’une fin existante, qui limite toute prétention à disposer simplement de moi-même, c’est dans et par cette objectivité que je puis être reconnu.” (*Idem, Ibidem*, 139).

“La fragilité est le nom que prend dans l’ordre affectif la disproportion dont nous poursuivons l’exégèse à travers le connaître, l’agir et le sentir.” (*Idem, Ibidem*, 142).

A disposição do sentimento suscita uma mediação nova, aquela que vem do ἰσχυρός (humanidade do coração). Esta mediação corresponde, na ordem do sentimento, à mediação silenciosa da imaginação transcendental na ordem do conhecimento, como refere finalmente P. Ricoeur: “Mais alors que l’imagination transcendante se réduit tout entière à la synthèse intentionnelle au projet de l’objet en face de nous, cette médiation se réfléchit en elle-même dans une requête affective indéfinie ou s’atteste la fragilité de l’être humain.” (*Ibidem*, 148).

Sto. Hilário afirma que “a sua baixeza é a nossa grandeza e a sua fraqueza é a nossa honra.”¹⁸ A baixeza e fraqueza do Desvalido no caminho para a cruz, que começou na narrativa do comportamento exemplar, será a grandeza e a honra do Samaritano. É o amor e o sofrimento do Desvalido que provocam a “remoção das vísceras” do Samaritano.

Entre a condição divina e a condição humana ocorreu uma analogia das naturezas na identidade da pessoa. Em Cristo, é o próprio Deus, que assume a condição de servo, incluindo o “sofrimento”. Na verdade, a “quénose” tem a ver não apenas com a liberdade divina, mas também com a onipotência de Deus que se torna “impotente”, Naquele que encarnou (desvalido no caminho para o calvário). A humanização, em saúde, afirma-se como uma “quénose”, onde se relacionam as duas condições antropológicas clínicas, residindo na relação médico/doente.

Assim, S. Gregório de Nisa afirma que é no facto da natureza onipotente se considerar em posição de descer até à baixeza do homem, que temos uma prova muito mais evidente do seu poder do que na grandeza dos seus milagres. A descida de Deus é como um excesso de poder para o qual não existem barreiras, mesmo naquilo que se mostra como oposto à sua natureza. A majestade manifesta-se na baixeza e, apesar disso, a majestade não é rebaixada por causa deste facto.¹⁹

A humanização é a majestade do doente no ocultamento da saúde, pela baixeza das patologias, que “aniquilam” o doente até à morte.

Assim, a humanização em saúde é uma “redenção”, (tal como a de Cristo), a qual vive, segundo M. Scheler, do interesse soteriológico, para conduzir o doente a uma nova vida.

Entretanto, a dignidade humana fundamenta-se, na sua origem, e no facto de ter sido criada à imagem e semelhança de Deus, e pertencer à natureza na qual o mesmo Deus incarnou, humanizando-se, assumindo a sua “fragilidade” (quénose) e indicando, quanto ao agir livre e responsável, tudo quanto se faz aos mais frágeis e desvalidos é feito a Ele-mesmo (Mt. 25, 40). Este agir é a vivência do mandamento, do exercício da misericórdia, como termina a parábola do “Desvalido no Caminho” (semi-vivo): *Vade et fac tu similiter* (Luc. 10, 35).

Assim, o Concílio Vaticano II, na constituição *Gaudium et Spes*, reclama que a natureza humana foi elevada a uma sublime “dignidade”.²⁰

¹⁸ “...*Non ille eguit homo effici, per quam homo factus est: sed nos eguimus, ut Deus caro fieret, et habitaret in nobis, id est, assumptione carnis unius interna universae carnis incoletet. Humilitas ejus nostra nobilitas est, contumelia ejus honor noster est: quod ille Deus in carne consistens, hoc nos vicissim in Deum ex carne renovati.*” (Saneti Hilarii – *Opera Omnia*, - *De Trinitate*, Liber II, 41, *Patrologiae Latinae*, Parisiis: J. Migne, 1845, col. 67).

¹⁹ “*Atque primum quidem, quod omnipotens natura potuerit descendere ad humilitatem humanitatis, id potestatem magis ostendit, quam magna et quae naturam superant miracula (...)* Ad id autem quod est humile et abjectum descensus, est quaedam insignis et redundans copia potestatis, quae minime impeditur in iis quae sunt praeter naturam.” (S. Gregorii Nysseni – *Opera Omnia*, - *Oratio Catechetica*, cap. XXIV, col. 63/64, tomus secundas, Parisiis: J. Migne, 1963).

²⁰ “*Cum in Eo natura humana assumpta, non preempta sit, eo ipso etiam in nobis ad sublimem*

A mesma *Gaudium et Spes* refere que, no mais profundo da sua consciência, o homem descobre a existência de uma lei que ele não dita por si mesmo, mas à qual deve obedecer, e cuja voz ecoa aos ouvidos do seu coração, advertindo-o que deve amar e praticar o bem e que deve evitar o mal. (...) Porque o homem tem uma lei escrita por Deus no seu coração, em cuja obediência consiste a “dignidade humana”. (...) É a consciência, que de modo admirável, dá a conhecer essa lei, cujo cumprimento consiste no amor a Deus e ao próximo.²¹ Foi por aqui, sob a forma de pergunta e leitura de Thorá, que Jesus começou a parábola do Bom Samaritano.

CONCLUSÃO

A parábola, como expressão cristológica, inicia-se, logo, no “certo homem”, que é a “recitação” (síntese) de Deus-Pai (o Pai das Misericórdias), que “faz” a “audição” (tese) da Palavra e a Palavra é Jesus Cristo (Desvalido no Caminho). Esta “audição” (*fides*) vem da doutrina (pregação), que se justifica pelos gestos e palavras de Cristo, sendo o “argumento” d’Esta pessoa. A audição, que sente o Samaritano, vem do “ver” (escuta da voz sem voz, do poder sem poder do Desvalido). O sentido apologético da parábola do Bom Samaritano (Lc 10, 25-37) justifica-se nesta audição (πίστις). Mas, quando ao Samaritano “se comoveram as vísceras” (Lc 10, 33), toma-se a “decisão” (antítese) que é o amor visceral, que o leva a prestar cuidados. Será, então, a decisão justificada pela αγάπη. Mas, toda a decisão está contida na “recitação”. Esta é, na leitura da nossa interpretação, o centro da visão apologética, pela teologia narrativa, por meio da έλπις (esperança).

Na parábola do Bom Samaritano, (Lc 10, 25-37), o “Desvalido no Caminho” é a “recitação” do Pai das Misericórdias, que determinará a “missão” do Samaritano pela “comoção das vísceras” (misericórdia). Todavia, interpretamos que o contexto missionário da parábola se descreve, no caminho de Jerusalém a Jericó, e depois, em sentido inverso, para o Gólgota, como ser e estar *in statu viatoris* que é a *spes*.

Com efeito, aufere-se que, apologeticamente, a humanização em saúde, segundo o paradigma esplancofônico, se constitui mais como “missão” do que profissão. A nova leitura da humanização, que propomos pela parábola, encontra-se no caminho da saúde e da doença, que se vivencia como “cristiforme” e como “encontro missionário”. Toda a justificação da “recitação”, como centro da parábola, far-se-á pela apologética da missão do Samaritano. A razão plesiológica refere-se como novo ditame poético, que se expressa no: Vai e faz a misericórdia.

Todavia, a parábola do Bom Samaritano é uma “narrativa plesiológica” sobre o sentido soteriológico da proximidade do próximo. Daqui se aufere que a narrativa do comportamento exemplar é um apelo e vivência da conduta plesiológica. A grande novidade desta parábola de Lucas está no sentido plesiológico, dado por Jesus Cristo,

dignitatem evecta est.” (AA. VV. – “*Gaudium et Spes*”, in: *Enchiridion Vaticanum*, II – Documenti del Concilio Vaticano II, testo ufficiale e versione italiana, Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane, 1988, 810).

²¹ “... *Nam homo legem in corde suo a Deo inscriptam habet, cui parere ipsa dignitas eius est et secundum quam ipse indicabitur.* (...) *Conscientia modo mirabili illa lex innotescit, quae in Dei et proximi dilectione adimpletur.*” (Ibidem, 798).

ao ponto de se poder dizer que aqui surge uma nova razão procedimental, longe da razão prática, segundo Kant, e até mesmo da discursiva de Habermas, mas, que se poderá chamar de “razão poietica” (τί ποιήσας). Este novo ditame, como “razão poietica”, encontra-se alicerçado na consciência plesiológica, que vem (*eventum Dei misericordiae*) pelo “fazer” com esmero e dedicação do Samaritano ao Desvalido no Caminho, em virtude da “comoção das vísceras”.

Logo, a nova modalidade de consciência, que brilhou (φαίνω) pelo “fazer”, referencia-se como “consciência plesiológica”. Assim, o Samaritano, sob a influência desta forma poietica de consciência, teve o cuidado de executar, com sentido agápico, “tarefas” sem necessitar da “consciência prática”, nem de saber quem era o seu próximo. A razão e a consciência poieticas determinam nova “fenomenologia plesiológica”, que tem o seu discurso narrativo na parábola lucana do Bom Samaritano (Lc 10, 25-37).

A humanização em saúde é uma “vivência plesiológica”, segundo o paradigma do Bom Samaritano, na qual se descrevem as manifestações concretas do “fazer”, pelo amor entranhado, como resposta à pergunta: de quem sou próximo? A humanização em saúde, como fenomenologia plesiológica, revela-se nas vivências da parábola.

A parábola inspira uma nova morada da conduta humana, como “ética de alteridade”, assente na vocação plesiológica do Samaritano. A preocupação ética de Jesus está no ποιέω (fazert) e não na “prática”. Surge, segundo a antropologia bíblica, uma ética do “fazer”. Com efeito, a humanização vive e alimenta-se do “fazer plesiológico” entre um Bom Samaritano e um Desvalido no Caminho.

Segundo o paradigma da humanização, pelo comportamento exemplar do Samaritano, este vive do e para o interesse plesiológico, porque o seu verdadeiro sentido busca-se no “amor ao próximo”. A humanização descreve-se como “vocação plesiológica” entre um Desvalido no Caminho (da nudez, da fome, da doença, etc.) e um Samaritano que, no “des-interesse”, vive e sente a “doação plesiológica” como um encontro soteriológico pela pergunta do legista: τί ποιήσας ζῶν ν αἰώνιον κληρονομίῃ- que fazendo para alcançar a vida eterna- (Lc 10, 25). Ao “fazer a misericórdia”, o Samaritano realizou o sentido escatológico da pergunta, que primeiro foi soteriológica e que terminará na questão plesiológica, a qual é eco paradigmático para a humanização pela “esplancnofania” do Bom Samaritano, que “cuida e trata” do Desvalido. O Samaritano “faz” a vocação plesiológica, que será afirmada pela parábola, como apologética do sentido antropológico e ético da humanização. O verdadeiro sentido da humanização “faz-se” em nova aretologia plesiológica.

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Post-liberal doctrine of “multipolarity”

Summary

The article discusses the doctrine of “multipolarity” in the context of post-liberal political theories. The very concepts of “liberalism” and, even more so, “post-liberalism” are ambiguous and require clarification. The doctrine of “multipolarity” is generally constructed on the hypothetical assumption about the transformation of the contemporary world order from neoliberal to “post-liberal”, in fact “neoliberal”. The supporters of this assumption point to the weakening of the hegemony of the USA and the collective West, starting from treating liberalism as a purely European phenomenon. The supporters of this assumption point to the weakening of the hegemony of the USA and the collective West, starting from treating liberalism as a purely European phenomenon. The article justifies the groundlessness of this doctrine. There are arguments that the contemporary problems of international relations and the rise in the rank of non-Western powers testify not to the rejection of the liberal foundations of the world order, but to its strengthening, if liberalism is assessed through the prism of values. Liberal values remain non-alternative to the development of international relations and important not only for Western countries.

Keywords: international relations, liberalism, multipolarity, neoliberalism, post-liberalism, world order.

INTRODUCTION

The collapse of communist regimes from Elba to the Pacific and some Latin American and East Asian authoritarian regimes in the late 1980s and early 1990s gave a breath of historical optimism to Western civilization, European in terms of its origins. The concepts of the “end of history” by Francis Fukuyama¹ and the “third wave of democratization” by Samuel Huntington² emerged, predicting the swift final victory of democracy and the triumph of liberal values around the world.

¹ F. Fukuyama, *Koniec historii i ostatni człowiek*, przeł. T. Bieroń, M. Wichrowski, Wydawnictwo Znak, Kraków 2017.

² S. Huntington, *Trzecia fala demokratyzacji*, transl. Andrzej Durdzik, PWN, Warszawa 1995.

It seemed then that the world would become safer, humanity would enter the path of peaceful progressive development, and the threat of a global nuclear Armageddon would be a thing of the past forever.

The period of 1990–2000 was marked by turbulent processes of globalization and European integration, which strengthened historical optimism.

However, from the 2000s onwards, and in particular, after the 2008–2010 financial and economic crisis, optimism gradually faded into oblivion. The terrorist attack on September 11, 2001 in the USA, followed by the “global war on terror” in Afghanistan, North Africa and the Middle East, strengthening of influence of authoritarian regimes in China and Russia on world politics and international relations, Russia’s intervention in Georgia in August 2008, the annexation of Crimea by Russia, and the unleashing of an armed conflict in the Donbas in 2014, the migration crisis in Europe starting in 2015, and the withdrawal of Great Britain from the European Union in 2016–2020, shattered trust in the neoliberal world order, which in fact in the 1990s was considered to have no alternative.

At the same time, the share of the European Union, the USA and other Western countries in the world economy was gradually declining due to the advance development of China, India and other Asian and Latin American countries.

At the same time, the influx of emigrants to Europe has become a serious test for European “welfare states”, solidarity between European Union member states, and ultimately – for European social and cultural values.

On this background, the concepts of “crisis of liberalism”³, “collapse of the neo-liberal world order”⁴, “post-liberalism”, “post-democratic world”⁵ and the like became very popular.

Critical concepts appeared among political scientists and political philosophers representing liberal currents and schools of political science, that is, “from the inside”⁶ as well as “from the outside”, on the part of various illiberal representatives of political thought⁷.

Sharp criticism was directed at the universality of liberal values, the progressiveness of liberal political regimes and the inevitability of the democratic transformation of authoritarian political regimes, which is actively used by propagandists to apologetics to similar regimes. A special role in the sharp discussions shown is played by the doctrine of “multipolarity”⁸, which is most often considered in the context of post-liberal theories and approaches.

³ P. Manent, *The Crisis of Liberalism*, Journal of Democracy, January 2014, no. 25 (1), p. 131–141.

⁴ G. J. Ikenberry, *The end of liberal international order?*, International Affairs, 2018, no. 94 (1), p. 21.

⁵ B. Alikhani, *Post-Democracy or Processes of De-Democratization? United States Case Study*, Historical Social Research, 2017, vol. 42, no. 4 (162).

⁶ A. Gat, *The End of the End of History*, Foreign Affairs, 2007, July/August.

⁷ J. Gray, *The Soul of the Marionette: A Short Inquiry into Human Freedom*, Allen Lane/Penguin, London 2015.

⁸ А.Г. Дугин, *Теория многополярного мира*, Евразийское движение, Москва 2013.

1. THE AMBIGUITY OF POST-LIBERALISM

Of course, it is impossible to analyze post-liberal concepts and doctrines without defining liberalism.

Liberalism as a theory and as a political practice is treated quite differently. Professionals cannot even agree on the scope of this concept.

In particular, whether to treat liberalism as one of the three classical political ideologies of the present day – liberalism, conservatism and socialism, developed in the early nineteenth century – or as a fundamental worldview for all contemporary politics and the modern state from the Age of Enlightenment and to our days, based on rationalism, legal principles and humanism.

Within this article it is impossible to even briefly review all interpretations of liberalism. It is only necessary to conclude that the values of individual freedom, progress, democracy and human rights are at the heart of the ideology of liberalism. At the same time, the value of individual freedom is the key, determining the foundation of the set of values of liberalism. The value-based approach to the definition of liberalism is important for the analysis of its post-liberal critique, because it is precisely such assumptions, based on values, that predetermine the political practice and political behaviour of its adepts, from which the notion of liberalism in the mass consciousness arises.

The French philosopher Michel Foucault believed that liberalism was the only antidote against a rational police state⁹, and under liberalism, Foucault understood not theory, not ideology, but practice, method of operation. Liberalism should be analysed as a principle and method of rationalizing managerial activity. But at the same time, rationalization by means of liberalism provides for “reminding” that management cannot be an end in itself. Maximization of governance should not be its regulatory principle. Only criticism can help to avoid the risk of over-management¹⁰. It is liberal reflection that asks the extent to which rational management is necessary and what is the use of it. In this sense, the word liberalism is an instrument of criticism of the previous state management. It is precisely this peculiarity that determines its repeatability in history. Its role is to reform the existing state management, aiming to limit its abuses. That is why liberalism manifests itself in various forms and is not always equated with classical liberalism in the narrow sense of the term.

It should be noted that by the beginning of the 21st century, the ideology of liberalism turned out to be beyond competition, becoming a kind of inseparable factor in the development of the political system of Western countries. Moreover, the liberal ideology, supported by the huge military-political, financial and cultural resources of the collective West, gained the opportunity to influence not only the ideological face of not only Western countries, but also other countries of the world.

Liberalism at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, with no equivalent ideological competitors, became the only possible language of political cooperation, the norms

⁹ M. Foucault, *Narodziny biopolityki. Wykłady z Collège de France 1978/1979*, transl. M. Herer, PWN, Warszawa 2011.

¹⁰ See: M. Foucault, *Trzeba bronić społeczeństwa: Wykłady w Collège de France*, transl. M. Kowalska, Wydawnictwo KR, Warszawa 1998.

of which were influenced by Western countries, where liberalism was strengthened at all levels of institutional development¹¹. For this reason, all phenomena of political life, peculiar to the West, began to be associated with liberalism. In fact, the processes of democratization and liberalization began to be equated with Europeanization, or more broadly, with Westerization, including the negative aspects of Europeanization, which are subject to criticism and judgment in the Western countries themselves. This was how the valuable and ideological core of liberalism was diluted. The shown indeterminacy and vagueness of liberalism made the concept of "post-liberalism" even more vague. It is difficult to define what is already a negative definition by its name, as the prefix "post-" indicates features different from liberalism, but does not provide a key to understanding the new ideological phenomenon. The use of such prepositions indirectly testifies to crisis and transition processes that are not amenable to positive and unambiguous definitions in the humanities and social sciences, for example, "post-industrial economics", "post-economic society", "postmodern culture", "post-bipolar world", or "post-Christian worldview"¹². The situation is complicated by the fact that the concept under consideration is used in very different ideological contexts by national conservatives, leftist radicals, libertarians, anarchists, apologists for various authoritarian regimes - "chavez", "putinists", "khomeinists" and others.

All definitions of post-liberalism can be conventionally divided into two large groups that differ significantly from each other. The first group can be related to the view of liberalism as a new trend within the liberal tradition, as a new edition of liberalism, adapted to contemporary political conditions¹³. The second group contrasts post-liberalism with contemporary neoliberal world order and liberal ideology. In their understanding, post-liberal ideology is in its essence illiberal and even anti-liberal, but temporarily hiding behind liberal terminology¹⁴. Therein lies the main ambiguity in the definition of post-liberalism.

Within the first group, post-liberalism is treated as a contemporary state of liberal ideology in Western countries. It reflects the controversial state of development of liberal ideology, showing, on the one hand, its domination in the Western countries, and on the other, proving the existence of an internal contradiction in the very logic of the ideological development of Western countries, conditioned by liberalism reaching a certain level of its own development. The meaning of such a contradiction lies in the fact that any ideology in its internal development requires an ideological antithesis in competition with which one ideological value system may be opposed to another. In the West, in the absence of an ideology comparable in terms of the power of influence, the logic of the development of liberalism probably led to the only possible way of confronting values, the juxtaposition necessary for the normal functioning of ideology¹⁵.

¹¹ A. Wolfe, *The Future of Liberalism*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York 2009, p. 17.

¹² H. Paul, *'Our post-Christian age'. Historicist-inspired diagnoses of modernity*, Manchester Openhive, Online Publication

¹³ G. Rohrmoser, *Der Ernstfall: die Krise unserer liberalen Republik*, Ullstein, Berlin 1994.

¹⁴ J. Gray, *The Soul of the Marionette: A Short Inquiry into Human Freedom*, Allen Lane/Penguin, London 2015.

¹⁵ R. Boudon, *Local vs General Ideologies a normal Ingredient of Modern political Life*, Journal of Political Ideologies, 1999, vol. 4, no. 5, p. 141-161.

In search of an antithesis, liberalism turned to its own philosophy, namely to the fundamental foundations of liberalism, expressed by the value of individual personal freedom, which undoubtedly appears in the nature of “the constitutive principle of the political philosophy of liberalism”¹⁶.

In post-liberalism, individual freedom acquires absolute significance in comparison with the secondary values and ideas of liberalism, whose only function is to justify the absolutized liberal element. This distinguishes post-liberalism from other varieties of liberal ideology, in which secondary values such as human rights and democracy, although determined by the fundamental value of individual freedom, played an important role in shaping the set of values they contained.

The difference of post-liberalism from other varieties of liberal ideology also lies in the fact that, within its structure, only the existence of elements conducive to the strengthening of individual freedom as a value is possible. Researchers have repeatedly stated that all the basic principles of the theory of liberal theory and concepts of society management represent various aspects of the interpretation of this principle, but only in post-liberalism secondary liberal values take on a strictly instrumental character and appear only as a justification of the absolutized value of individual freedom.

Indeed, in post-liberalism there is only one value in the original sense of the word, only one ultimate basis for goal-setting. Post-liberalism represents a kind of narrowing down of the value system, reducing it to the sole and absolute value of individual freedom. In a post-liberal interpretation, individual freedom takes on a radically negative attitude, becoming a starting point for juxtaposing the individual and social institutions which, due to their functional meaning, impose restrictions on some forms of expressing individual will. Undoubtedly, also before the time of post-liberalism, freedom was understood as “just that I am not disturbed by others”¹⁷, and it was this understanding of freedom, which aimed at extending the sphere of non-interference into the sphere of individual decision-making and making a choice, prevailed in the ideology of early liberalism. The post-liberal understanding of individual freedom extends the understanding and status of the individual as the only possible original being, contrasted with inauthentic beings such as society, the state, and the family. The ultimate goal of this juxtaposition is the maximal extension of the limits of individual freedom¹⁸.

Post-liberalism, by giving absolute meaning to the status of an individual whose will cannot be the object of normative regulation by collective identities, helps to limit the number of possible mechanisms of social transformations, the only source of which are either an individual or social groups whose identity is shaped as a simple sum of separate atomized entities. At the same time, some traditional social institutions that restrict the behaviour of individuals, created in the interest of large social groups, are perceived as a significant obstacle to the realization of individual freedom.

The development of post-liberal individual freedom manifests itself in all the key values of liberalism, subordinating the logic of their development to the maximum

¹⁶ G. Rohrmoser, *Der Ernstfall: die Krise unserer liberalen Republik*, Ullstein, Berlin 1994, p.73.

¹⁷ I. Berlin, *Liberty*, ed. H. Hardy, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2002, p. 21.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 34.

disclosure of individual will, which allows the conclusion that post-liberalism is precisely a concentrated expression of individual freedom, brought to the extreme limit of its logical development.

Starting from an absolutized understanding of individual freedom, in the post-liberal concept of human rights priority is given to the social rights of minorities. Social minorities are perceived as real subjects of social relations, whose protection of rights and freedoms is a concentrated expression of the essence of the human rights idea. The situation of minorities is considered as insufficiently secured in legal terms, and the perception of social minorities as groups that experience oppression from the dominant social majority is updated¹⁹.

The similar importance of social minorities in the post-liberal treatment of human rights and post-liberalism as a whole also logically comes from the absolutization of the value of individual freedom.

The initial orientation of early liberalism towards giving the rights of the individual's freedoms a priority in its relations with the state is extrapolated to the relations of the social minority and the majority as a transformed variant of the social model of relations, in which what is collective (state, church, social majority) is perceived as a social subject that carries out unfair oppression and aggression towards an individual subject (individual, social minority). At the same time, the very idea of justice occupies an important place in the liberal ideology only when it is understood as the possibility of man to realize his freedom²⁰.

Liberalism, pushed to the limit in the pursuit of the maximum disclosure of individual freedom, including through the concept of human rights, “does not recognize any autonomous status of communities, peoples, cultures, nations and considers them only as clusters of free atoms. The latter, only they are of value for liberalism”²¹. This is how liberalism is assessed by its fierce opponent, political philosopher and founder of the new right movement Alain de Benoist, who sees post-liberalism as a logical continuation of liberalism, reflecting its crisis.

Like Benoist, the Russian political philosopher Alexander Dugin, one of the ideologues of the national-Bolshevik movement in Russia in the 1990s, founder of “neo-Arabism” and leader of the International Eurasian Movement, generally views post-liberalism as a dying form of traditional liberalism. Dugin introduced the “fourth political theory” to replace liberalism, socialism and fascism²².

Critics of liberalism from the “new right” and ultra-conservatives believe that there is a dehumanization of collective identities under post-liberalism, because social collectives are judged by completely different criteria than individuals. The post-liberal development of individual freedom and its implementation through the human rights

¹⁹ J. Ringelheim, *Minority Rights in a Time of Multiculturalism-The Evolving Scope of the Framework Convention on the Protection of National Minorities*, Human Rights Law Review, February 2010, vol. 10 (1).

²⁰ I. Berlin, *Liberty*, ed. H. Hardy, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2002, p. 45.

²¹ А. де Бенуа, *Против либерализма: к четвертой политической теории*, Пер. с фр. и предисл. А. Дугина, Амфора, Москва 2009, p. 23.

²² K. Karczewski, *Tradycja, imperium, geopolityka. Eurazjatyzm w ujęciu Aleksandra Dugina jako alternatywa wobec liberalizmu oraz demokracji liberalnej*, Toruń 2017.

system helps to strengthen the priority of national, religious and other minorities over the majority, whose existing social domination is perceived as fundamentally false and is perceived as a direct threat to freedom in its true, individual form, the main carrier of which is a social minority²³. According to the critics of the liberal tradition, post-liberalism is inextricably linked with two important social premises, which can be conventionally called tolerance and political correctness, although they are not derivatives of post-liberalism.

Political correctness, in line with the ideas of critics of liberalism, in fact represents a policy of regulating linguistic behaviour in the public space in order to eliminate the negative effects of public reproduction of speech and behaviour patterns which, due to various circumstances, may become a reason for insulting an individual or a social group²⁴.

Political correctness, even in accordance with its name, provides for the regulation of the verbal sphere of human activity, however, the conditions for increasing the value of a social minority, together with the concept of human rights modified under post-liberalism, change the situation of political correctness, giving it the status of a mechanism of strengthening the special status of a minority.

The second political phenomenon that is organically associated with the development of post-liberal ideology in Western countries has become tolerance. Contrary to political correctness, functioning more in the sphere of regulation of linguistic behaviour, tolerance constitutes an ethical basis for shaping a favourable social attitude towards someone socially “different”.

At the same time, the main distinguishing feature of tolerance is the recognition of the right of the “other” to be such, and the respect for this right, regardless of its content. Currently, numerous researchers devote their attention to the critical analysis of the phenomenon of tolerance in Western countries. In the broadest sense, tolerance should be understood as understanding for social patterns of behaviour that differ from those adopted as a social norm. In practice, it manifests itself in the imperative regulation of human behaviour, the consolidation of certain moral restrictions as binding ones, and the basis for this is the implicitly dominant ideology of post-liberalism. Tolerance in contemporary Western liberal societies becomes an instrument called to exercise control over the sphere of what is ethically and politically acceptable²⁵.

In the European public space, there are known cases of limiting the possibility of demonstrating the religious attributes of Christianity as the religion of the dominant majority in the interest of a social minority. Similar limitations are not accidental and show that the phenomenon of tolerance, as well as post-liberalism itself, is related not to the abandonment of religion as such, but to an attempt to limit the manifestations of religious life in the social majority, because it directly affects the possibility of religious representation of a minority, and more broadly, for the possibility

²³ J. Gray, *The Soul of the Marionette: A Short Inquiry into Human Freedom*, Allen Lane/Penguin, London 2015.

²⁴ D.E. Bernstein, *You Can't Say That! The Growing Threat to Civil Liberties from Antidiscrimination Laws*, Cato Institute, Washington, D.C. 2003.

²⁵ I. Berlin, *Liberty*, ed. H. Hardy, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2002, p. 51.

of broadening and deepening minority's individual freedom. The second group of views on post-liberalism treat it as illiberal and potentially illiberal. Post-liberalism in the above-described sense of the word, as a new version of liberalism, adapted to new conditions with its emphasis on individual freedom and minority rights, is treated by supporters of such views as “neoliberalism”.

Unlike neoliberalism, which is considered an even more radical edition of the classical liberal concept, post-liberalism, especially in its most consistent forms, represents to a large extent precisely the overcoming of liberalism in terms of critical reflection. Opponents of liberal ideology around the world emphasize that that the critique of liberalism was born within it, liberal thinkers themselves pioneered the idea of a “crisis of liberalism”²⁶. Supporters of similar views treat this tendency in the development of Western thought as a preparation for future changes, as a reborn and actively developing critical position towards the existing status quo or, at least, one with significant opportunities for future political practice.

2. IN ANTICIPATION OF MULTIPOLARITY

Proponents of the concept of post-liberalism as an alternative to the liberal tradition focus on the analysis of changes in world politics and international relations. One of the key theses of the post-liberal world order theory is the transition from the bipolarity of the “Cold War” and American hegemony in the late 20th – early 21st centuries to the so-called “multipolarity”²⁷.

One of the most famous critics of the neoliberal world order, British political philosopher John Gray²⁸, a professor at the London School of Economics, believes that classical liberalism is inapplicable in the post-bipolar world era. Gray points out that the dismantling of the bipolar system, rather than to clear the way to the establishment of a liberal model on a truly global scale, provoked a systemic crisis of liberalism itself. The conclusions that Gray draws from the analysis of this crisis mean not only a departure from the idea of the universal applicability of liberal schemas to all human societies without exception, but also the actual admission of the fact that neoliberal practice is not prospective in the most developed countries of the West. Of course, the author is referring to the mutual conditioning between the domestic and foreign policies of Western countries²⁹.

Indeed, Gray insists that liberalism, as the main embodiment of the Enlightenment project, is now utterly bankrupt, the post-Enlightenment memorial service has already been performed in the realm of high intellectual reflection. The only question is when the inertia of old institutes and discursive practices will run out and the West will collide with the need to politically resolve the maturing global crisis. The author claims: “Although the Enlightenment project is in decline in most Western cultures,

²⁶ P. Manent, *The Crisis of Liberalism*, *Journal of Democracy*, January 2014, no. 25 (1), p. 132.

²⁷ G. Keersmaeker, *Multipolar Myths and Unipolar Fantasies*, Security Policy Brief, no. 60, Egmont Royal Institute for International Relations, Brussels 2015.

²⁸ J. Gray, *The Soul of the Marionette: A Short Inquiry into Human Freedom*, Allen Lane/Penguin, London 2015.

²⁹ G. J. Ikenberry, *The end of liberal international order?*, *International Affairs*, 2018, no. 94 (1), p. 23.

it is still influencing various areas of thought, not related to academic philosophy. For example, in rhetoric, as well as in the practice of international relations, concepts similar to the doctrine of universal human rights, as before, still enjoy authority. But this is probably due to the apparent lack of a clear alternative. Our culture is the culture of the Enlightenment not according to conviction, but because of the lack of other possibilities”³⁰. As opponents of the neoliberal world order believe, traditional liberalism in all its varieties is a universal political theory. This theory contains a set of principles dictating what the best system and the best - from the point of view of the ideal - institutions for all mankind should be.

In the political theories of the Enlightenment, the universalist orientation of classical political rationalism is reborn as a philosophy of history that pursues a common rationalist and cosmopolitan civilization as its goal³¹.

Gray, like most critics of liberalism, refers to a change in the global world order in recent decades: “I mean the collapse of the Enlightenment’s hopes for breaking particular national and religious ties, and for the gradual equalization or marginalization of cultural differences in people’s lives. The world-historical failure of the Enlightenment project, expressed in the destruction at the end of the 20th century of secular, rationalist and universalist political movements generated by this project and the predominance in the political life of ethnic, nationalist and fundamentalist forces, leads to the fallacy of the philosophical anthropology on which the project of the Enlightenment was based. In this philosophical anthropology, the differences between cultures were considered an ephemeral and even an epiphenomenal randomness in human life and history. From the alternative point of view which I would like to develop, the predisposition to the difference between cultures is an original characteristic of the human race”³².

The recognition of so-called “cultural pluralism” as the basis of a new post-liberal world order implies the rejection of liberal political institutions as a guide for the development of countries and nations that do not belong historically to the Enlightenment tradition. The possibility of building a lasting peace on the basis of universal values proposed by Enlightenment activists and the great German philosopher Emanuel Kant in his treatise “On Eternal Peace”³³ is completely rejected. Instead, a “multipolar” world order is proposed, based on the cooperation of the so-called “cultural autonomous communities” of states.

The concepts of “multipolarity” appeared for the first time in the West in the mid-1970s. The origin of multipolarity is attributed to the then-observed turbulent economic growth of Western Europe and Japan, to the American defeat in Vietnam, to the energy crisis of 1973-1974 and to other trends in world politics that do not fit within the strict framework of the bipolar world.

³⁰ J. Gray, *The Soul of the Marionette: A Short Inquiry into Human Freedom*, Allen Lane/Penguin, London 2015, p. 127.

³¹ D.S. Jones, *Masters of the Universe: Hayek, Friedman, and the Birth of Neoliberal Politics*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 2012, p. 382.

³² J. Gray, *The Soul of the Marionette: A Short Inquiry into Human Freedom*, Allen Lane/Penguin, London 2015, p. 139.

³³ M. Żelazny, *Idea wolności w filozofii Kanta*, Wyd. Comer, Toruń 1993.

The creation in 1973 of the Tripartite Commission, appointed to seek a new format of relations between North America, Western Europe and East Asia, also reflected the notion of multipolarity, the one that is approaching, if not the one that has already come.

In Russia, the concept of multipolarity was put forward by Foreign Minister Yevgeny Primakov in 1996³⁴. During his visit to Delhi at the end of 1998, as Prime Minister, Yevgeny Primakov put forward a plan for the development of trilateral cooperation between Russia, India and China (RICh) as a practical mechanism for the development of global multipolarity. The RIC was to become the "other pole", established to counterbalance US power.

Chinese historians developed their own version of the concept of multipolarity in the early 1990s, which was derived from Mao Zedong's views on global politics. In China, views have been formulated on the specifics of the transition from a unipolar to a multipolar world through a "hybrid" structure of world politics, combining elements of both the past and the future world order. The Seventh Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, QianQichen, concluded: "The world is still in a transitional phase and the new model has not yet fully developed, but the contours of the structure of international relations have already been outlined, in which one superpower and several great powers are in relations of mutual dependence and struggle. This is the initial period of the system's evolution towards multipolarity"³⁵.

In the opinion of advocates of multipolarity, not only the US is losing its positions, but also the open and law-based international order that has been built by the United States since the 1940s. They believe that the new powerful states are starting to promote their ideas and their own view of the global world order and for the weakening US it will become more and more difficult to defend the old system³⁶.

The distinguishing specificity of liberal internationalism is openness and the law-based relationship system as embodied in institutions such as the United Nations and principles such as multilateralism may give way to a system of competing and isolated blocs, multiple spheres of influence, regional rivalry, and a network of mercantilism.

It is a fact that countries that are growing in strength today, mainly large and non-Western developing countries, it seems, are reinforcing these presumptions. The old liberal international order was made up and implemented in practice by the West. Brazil, China, India, and other rapidly developing equations have different cultural, political, and economic experiences and view the world through the prism of their anti-imperial and anti-colonial past. Being still compelled to solve the problems of development, they do not share the concerns of developed capitalist societies. The COVID-19 pandemic and the economic difficulties it causes have only fuelled

³⁴ Е.М. Примаков, *Международные отношения накануне XXI века: проблемы, перспективы, Международная жизнь*, 1996, no. 10, p.3-13.

³⁵ Zhao Suisheng, *Beijing's Perceptions of the International System and Foreign Policy Adjustment after the Tiananmen Incident*, [in:] *Chinese Foreign Policy. Pragmatism and Strategic Behavior*, ed. Zhao Suisheng, East Gate Book, New York 2004, p.142.

³⁶ L.S. Bishai, *Liberal Empire*, *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 2004, vol. 7, p. 48-72.

concerns about the decline of international liberalism³⁷. The crisis processes in the United States shook faith into the American model of liberal capitalism and sowed new doubts about the US's ability to act as a global economic leader³⁸.

As a result of all these causes, many observers have come to the conclusion that world politics is experiencing not a mere change of leaders, but a change of the very ideas and principles that underlie the world order. Thus, some argue that the very set of liberal international ideas, such as belief in democratization, the free market, and the admissibility of US military power³⁹. The future international governance will be mainly determined by China, which will use its own growing power and wealth to shift the vector of world politics towards an illiberal one.

Noting that China and other non-Western countries have survived the pandemic and its economic effects better than Western countries, pessimists argue that an authoritarian capitalist alternative to Western neoliberal ideas has already emerged⁴⁰.

3. CRITICISM OF THE MULTIPOLARITY DOCTRINE

The proposals for changing the world order do not take into account that despite the change in the role of the US in the global system, the liberal international order still persists. The struggle in the sphere of international order is not against fundamental principles. China and other gaining powers do not seek to undermine the basic rules and principles of the world's liberal order - they seek to gain more power and leadership in it. Indeed, the observed transition of power is not the decline of the liberal order, but the achievement of its apogee.

Both Brazil, China and India received an impetus for development and increased their potential, acting within the framework of the existing international order and by taking advantage of its principles, practices and institutions, including the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the recently founded "Group of Twenty"⁴¹. Their economic successes and growing influence are determined by liberal internationalist world politics, and they are in every way interested in the preservation of this system. At the same time, alternatives to an open world order based on stable rules are yet to emerge. While the last decade has been commemorated by significant upheavals in the world system - the emergence of new powers, the open discontent of US Western allies over their unipolar ambitions, the global financial crisis and economic decline, the liberal world order has no competitors. Moreover, the strengthening of the non-Western powers, the growth of the economy and mutual dependence in the sphere of security only strengthen his position.

³⁷ K. Giles, *Beware Russian and Chinese Positioning for After the Pandemic*, Chatham House. 9.04.2020, https://www.chathamhouse.org/expert/comment/beware-russian-and-chinese-positioning-after-pandemic?utm_source=Chatham%20House&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=11468905_Publication%20alert%20Keir%20Giles%20EC%202020-04-09&dm_i=1S3M,6TTGP,O7Z75E,RCUL3,1, accessed: 02.11.2021.

³⁸ B. Alikhani, *Post-Democracy or Processes of De-Democratization? United States Case Study*, Historical Social Research, 2017, vol. 42, no. 4 (162).

³⁹ G. J. Ikenberry, *The end of liberal international order?*, International Affairs, 2018, no. 94 (1).

⁴⁰ K. Mahbubani, *The West's incompetent response to the pandemic will hasten the power-shift to the east*, The Economist, 20.04.2020.

⁴¹ G.V. Raymond, *Advocating the rules-based order in an era of multipolarity*, Australian Journal of International Affairs, 2018.

Liberal world order is not a simple set of liberal-democratic states, but an international association of mutual aid, a kind of global political club, offering its members instruments of economic and political development. Participants are introduced to trade opportunities, dispute settlement mechanisms, frameworks for collective action, normative agreements, security guarantees for allies and measures in times of crisis. If there are tons of reasons why growing in power states are interested in strengthening the liberal international order, there are many obstacles in the way of those who strive to destroy it⁴².

First, an open and rule-based system corresponds to the vital interests of developing countries. Openness gives them access to other societies - for trade, investment and scientific exchange.

For example, the development of China and other gaining powers, without the flow of unlimited investment from the US and Europe over the past few decades, would have been much slower. Further growth of these countries will inevitably trigger protectionist and discriminatory measures taken by countries with much slower pace of development as they collide with the threat of losing jobs and markets. As a result, for growing countries, rules and institutions that support non-discrimination and equal access will prove to be critically important. The World Trade Organization (WTO) is the most advanced institution of the liberal international order that upholds these principles and norms. This is why the rising powers have so sought to join the WTO and obtain the rights and guarantees it offers to its members⁴³.

The influence of the elite is increasing in Brazil, China, India and other countries of international orientation, thus favouring, at the global level, an increase in support for an international open and law-based order. These elites did not take part in the great transactions behind the creation of the liberal order in the first post-war decades and seek to revise their countries' positions within the system. However, they nevertheless adopt the principles and institutions of the old order. They are interested in the security and rights provided by the Westphalian protection of sovereignty, integrated into the existing international order. They need protection and rights with regard to trade and investment. And they want to use the principles and institutions of liberal internationalism as a platform for increased influence and recognition of their legitimacy both inside the country and abroad. The UN Security Council, the Group of Twenty (G20), the governing bodies of financial institutions provide the institutional platforms on which non-Western nations build their global influence and consolidate their power. At the same time, there is no global project that would compete with liberal internationalism⁴⁴. It cannot be ruled out that exclusive blocs, spheres of influence, and mercantilist networks will employ an alternative, illiberal order⁴⁵. It will be less open and will be based mainly on ties between states. But on

⁴² J.E. Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents*, W.W.Norton& Company, New York 2003, p. 19.

⁴³ G.C. Chow, *The Impact of Joining WTO on China's Economic, Legal and Political Institutions*, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ 08544, <https://www.princeton.edu/~gchow/WTO.pdf>, accessed: 04.11.2021.

⁴⁴ G. Keersmaecker, *Multipolar Myths and Unipolar Fantasies*, Security Policy Brief, no 60, Egmont Royal Institute for International Relations, Brussels 2015.

⁴⁵ G.C. Hufbauer, E. Jung, *Why Has Trade Stopped Growing? Not Much Liberalization and Lots of Micro-Protection*, Peterson Institute for International Economics. 23.03.2016, <https://>

a global scale, such a system will not suit the interests of any major powers, including China.

Any alternative order will only be effective for the immediate benefit of one or more countries using the open system of markets. But if it is adopted by everyone, the system will cease to be open and transform into a fragmented mercantilist and protectionist complex, and as a result all countries will lose.

It should be borne in mind that democracy and the primacy of law are still the characteristics of modern times and the world standard for legal management. However, one should not count on the fact that authoritarian states can become truly developed societies without moving in a liberal-democratic direction⁴⁶. The legitimacy of the one-party system in China rests more on the state's ability to deliver economic growth and full employment than on Maoist political principles. No one knows how quickly and decisively China will implement democratic reforms, but the growing middle class, business elites and lawmen will start putting pressure to reform. Chinese state leadership, no doubt concerned about the future of the one-party system in the long term, aims to limit civic participation.

Liberal internationalism is not the same as neoliberalism or market fundamentalism. The idea of liberal internationalism, formulated in the US in the 1940s, entailed the development of a more comprehensive set of ideas about markets, openness, and social stability⁴⁷. The goal of liberal internationalism was to build an open world economy without adversely affecting social security and employment. The very notions of national and economic security appeared in the 1940s, expressing, following the “New Course” of World War II, a new view of the conditions securing in liberal democracies, security and stable development.

The Atlantic Charter, concluded in 1941 by US and British leaders Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill, and the so-called Bretton Woods Agreement of 1944 were the first attempts to present a vision of economic openness and social stability⁴⁸.

There is also a second reason for gaining strengths to support the existing rules and institutions, namely to reassure their neighbours who are concerned about their growing power.

Strengthening of China potentially threatens the security of neighbouring countries, especially when China is behaving aggressively and has a revisionist agenda. Since impinging the balance of power will inevitably result in decisive counteraction, Beijing is interested in demonstrating its restraint. Such an opportunity will be created by participation in numerous regional and global institutions. If China hopes to convince its neighbours about the “peaceful nature of their development”, they should become more integrated into the international order.

www.piie.com/blogs/trade-investment-policy-watch/why-has-trade-stopped-growing-not-much-liberalization-and-lots, accessed: 03.11.2021.

⁴⁶ A. Wolfe, *The Future of Liberalism*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York 2009, p. 86.

⁴⁷ E. Borgwardt, *A new deal for the world: America's vision for human rights*, Harvard University Press, New York 2007.

⁴⁸ W. Kimball, *Forged in war: Churchill, Roosevelt and the Second World War*, HarperCollins, New York 1997.

The rise of China’s economic and military power will only add to its neighbours’ anxiety, and Beijing will have to take steps to allay their concerns. Of course, one should not exclude the existence of certain elites in this country that could be not interested in showing restraint. If, however, the position of their opponents prevails, China will be interested in demonstrating its peaceful intentions, and for this purpose it will significantly increase its share in existing institutions, such as the ASEAN Regional Forum and the East Asian Council, or jointly with other major powers in the region, will take part in the creation of new ones⁴⁹. This is what China did during the decades after the end of World War II. Assessing the situation as a whole, the emerging challenges of the 21st century will only intensify the interest of all great powers in keeping the international system⁵⁰ open and based on law. In a world of increasing interdependence, both in the sphere of economics and in the sphere of security, the costs of refusing to comply with international rules and strengthening ties will increase dramatically. As the interdependence within the world economic system increases, any country, even great and powerful, will find it harder and harder to thrive, should it rely only upon themselves.

Increasing security interdependence also creates a demand for multilateral standards and institutions⁵¹. Both the already existing and emerging great powers are threatened not so much by hostile armies that have crossed the border, but by transnational threats such as terrorism, climate change and pandemics. Disasters in one country, such as radicalism, carbon dioxide emissions or epidemics, threaten others as well, and the threat is growing steadily. The positions of old and nascent countries as to what this cooperation should look like may be divergent, but all these countries are interested in the existing model of a multilateral world order.

CONCLUSION

The considerations on America’s decline do not take into account the real transformation that is taking place. What we are observing is not America’s decline, but a dynamic process into which other countries are being included, increasing their interconnectedness more and more. It is completely natural for an open and law-based international order. If the architects of the post-war liberal order could look at the present system, they would be shocked at how much the reality surpassed their wildest expectations. Non-Western countries trade and continue to expand. The United States has more allies today than it did during the Cold War.

Competing hegemonic countries with their revisionist and illiberal aspirations are no longer world-class players. It is impossible to evaluate these facts of world-historical significance as testimony to the fall of the USA and the decline of liberalism. In a sense, the liberal international order itself spawned the problems they experienced, because these problems – the growth of non-Western states and new transnational threats - testify to its success. But solving these problems by integrating ever stronger

⁴⁹ G. Keersmaeker, *Multipolar Myths and Unipolar Fantasies*, Security Policy Brief, no. 60, Egmont Royal Institute for International Relations, Brussels 2015.

⁵⁰ G.V. Raymond, *Advocating the rules-based order in an era of multipolarity*, Australian Journal of International Affairs, 2018.

⁵¹ R. Cooper, *The Breaking of Nations. Order and Chaos in the Twenty-first Century*, Atlantic Books, London 2003, p. 27.

powers and joining the search for solutions as a team will force the old keepers and new actors to jointly find a way to renewal.

Most likely, a battle will ensue among those who wish to renew and extend the current system of multilateral governance mechanisms, and those who lean towards order built on spheres of influence and are less collaborative.

The upcoming breakthrough in world politics will not take place between the United States (and the West) on the one hand, and non-Western nascent powers the other. These dividing lines cannot be mapped and do not run between East and West. Many staunch supporters of the UN, WTO, and law-based international order can be found in Asia, while the West has isolationist, protectionist and nationalist forces.

Over the course of several decades, the liberal international order managed to achieve internal successes thanks to the fact that its rules and institutions not only promoted the idea of open trade and free markets, but also introduced to governments the instruments of managing mutual dependence in the spheres of economics and security. The agenda of the process of renewing the liberal international order should contain the same imperative: to strengthen the potential of national governments to manage and achieve their goals in the economy and security on the basis of uniform international rules and regulations. Of course, these principles should be based on normativity, rationalism and humanism, that is, in fact the same principles on which liberalism is based.

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O Desvalido no Caminho: do “mim material” ao “mim espiritual” (Lc 10,25-37)

Summary

The Needy on the Way: from ‘my material self’ to ‘my spiritual self’ (Luke 10:25-37).

W. James’ contribution is based on the distinction he makes between the “me” and the “I”. For this philosopher, it is the “I” that is aware of the “me”. It is sought, through the philosopher’s thought, to make a reading of the parable of the Good Samaritan.

Keywords: Good Samaritan, parable, myself and I.

INTRODUÇÃO

W. James deu um contributo elevado para o desenvolvimento da teoria do “autoconceito”. O filósofo pragmático, no seu trabalho de 1890, introduziu o conceito do Eu e do autoconceito. Assim a forma como uma pessoa se concretiza, a respeito de si mesmo, depende daquilo que aceita “ser e fazer”. Assim, o contributo de W. James é fundamentado pela distinção que elabora entre o “mim” e o “Eu”. Para este filósofo, é o “Eu” que tem consciência do “mim”. Procura-se, pelo pensamento do filósofo fazer uma leitura da parábola do Bom Samaritano.

1. O “MIM” NO EU

Para W. James, o “self” do homem é a soma total daquilo que ele pode chamar como seu corpo, as suas faculdades psíquicas, as suas roupas, a sua casa, a mulher e os filhos, seus ancestrais e amigos, a sua reputação, etc. W. James apresenta o “mim”

segundo três perspectivas como elementos integrantes.(1) Os elementos integrantes do “mim” referem-se como o “mim” material; o “mim” social e o “mim” espiritual.

1.1. O “mim” material

Para W. James, o “mim material” radica no corpo, sendo o elemento central do “mim” material, como as coisas, posse de bens ou a casa. Por causa das preferências institutivas, encontramos, por meiodo “mim” material, as verdadeiras razões práticas do viver, que se poderão exprimir em processos conjuntivos e/ou disjuntivos do nosso existir. (2) Pela parábola, metaforicamente, o “mim material” encontra-se vivenciado pelos salteadores, que somente se preocupavam com bens materiais, dado que terminaram por deixá-Lo como “semi-morto”. O Desvalido no Caminho (Lc. 10,30) ficou fragilizado pelo “mim” material.

1.2. O “mim” social’

Este será a consideração que ele obtém no seu meio, ou seja, o reconhecimento de alguns amigos. Segundo W. James, um homem tem tantos “mim” sociais” como indivíduos, que o conhecem ou têm dele uma ideia ou opinião. (3)

A reputação e a honra são nomes dos “mim” sociais. (4)

O paradigma do “mim” social realiza-se no comportamento do Sacerdote e do Levita ,que só se preocupavam com a reputação e honra, mais do que servir o Desvalido no Caminho. O Sacerdote e o Levita (Lc. 10,3 1-32) estavam preocupados com o culto do Templo de Jerusalém e com o cumprimento da Torah, que dava estatuto social e honra perante as classes sociais e o regime político. (5) Ao passarem para o outro lado do caminho, marcaram presença como um “mim” social. Este aspecto foi mais relevante do que tratar de um Desvalido ,com necessidades ,sem valor perante o “mim” social.

1.3. O “mim” espiritual

Este “mim” radica na personalidade empírica. Surge como um ser interno – *ad intra* – e subjectivo, que contem as faculdades psíquicas ou disposições que são as partes mais resistentes e íntimas do “self”. Aqui existem diversos graus de interioridade, como as emoções, os desejos e os momentos profundos, que percebemos do mundo exterior.(6)

O “mim” espiritual encontra-se representado por meio do Samaritano, que O viu, aproximou-se d’Ele, porque “se comoveram as vísceras”. Seguidamente prestou-lhe “cuidados”, permitindo restaurar o “semi-morto”, com a ajuda do estalajadeiro. Se, segundo W. James, a consciência da nossa actividade é o que há de mais central no “mim” espiritual, então é como se conhece. É o coração da personalidade empírica, o santuário mais íntimo da vida no homem. (7)

O Samaritano vive nesta forma de “consciência”, muito embora esta se faça não *ad intra*, como salienta W. James, mas *ad extra* ,porque *Dei misericordiae eventum*. (8)

Depois de analisar os elementos do “mim”, W. James elabora os sentimentos e as emoções que o Eu determina. (9)

Pela leitura de W. James, poderemos dizer que o “Eu supremo” se exprime, metaforicamente, no – *quidam homo* –, que será o “semi-morto” (Lc. 10, 33). Tal como no pensamento de W. James, o Eu é a consciência enquanto tal, os “mim” não são senão diferentes objectivos de que tenho consciência. Por outras palavras, o “Eu» é o que pensa em nós. (10) O Eu supremo representaria o “meio-morto”, que está presente, pela última viagem para Jerusalém (Lc. 9, 51.11). Entretanto, o Mim espiritual participa do “eu absoluto”, que está como Desvalido, segundo a parábola do Bom Samaritano. Para W. James, o “mim” espiritual caracteriza-se por alguns componentes da vida empírica, tais como: aspirações intelectuais, morais e religiosas, bem como o instinto moral e os sentimentos de superioridade moral ou intelectual. Estes elementos aretológicos cabem na imagem e semelhança do Samaritano.

2. O VALOR E SENTIDO DO “MIM”

A procura da análise dos sentimentos e emoções que o “mim” determina, isto é, a consciência do valor do “mim”, está presente na vida do Eu. Assim, a consciência reveste-se de duas formas fundamentais: satisfação e descontentamento de si.

Existem sinónimos para designar estas duas formas da consciência, que aparecem, pelo orgulho, presunção, vaidade e “amor próprio”, arrogância e vanglória e que possuem o seu enquadramento e vivência no Sacerdote e no Levita (Lc. 10, 31-32).

Mas, a modéstia, a humildade, a contrição e o sentimento de desonra espelham-se na conduta do Samaritano (Lc. 10, 33-35). Estas são as virtudes que surgiram a partir da “comoção das vísceras” (Lc. 10 10,33). O “mim espiritual”, pela consciência, vivencia-se nesta forma areto-axiológica.

Os salteadores (Lc. 10, 30) estavam satisfeitos consigo próprios e assim se amaram. Os sentimentos não são determinados, são antes normalmente provocados pelos sucessos e insucesso, pela boa ou má posição no mundo. Estes sentimentos, também, aparecem nas vivências do Sacerdote e do Levita (Lc. 10, 31-32).

Será necessário salientar os actos através dos quais o “mim” tende a proporcionar o sentimento de satisfação de si e a soma dos pesares, como sentimento oposto, isto é, de “desonra” (10), tal como se justifica na conduta não-exemplar dos salteadores, que viveram de si e para si. Os salteadores (Lc. 10, 30) estavam satisfeitos consigo próprios.

Os sentimentos não são determinados. Estes sentimentos também aparecem nas vivências do Sacerdote e do Levita (Lc. 10, 31-32).

Será necessário salientar os actos através dos quais o “mim” tende a realizar-se e a defender-se. O filósofo W. James enumera um grande número de instintos fundamentais: instinto de conservação, de expansão e de defesa, que poderão conduzir ao amor e à procura do “mim” e que se podem examinar na aflicção do “mim” físico até ao “mim” social.

Novamente, estes elementos manifestam-se nos salteadores em virtude do seu fazer amoral, ao deixarem o *quidam homo*, como Desvalido. Ao falar dos salteadores, no âmbito do “mim” material, seguem-se o instinto de propriedade, o instinto de construção, os apetites e os instintos físicos, etc.

Pela consciência do valor do “mim” material, os salteadores vivem entre o orgulho das riquezas e o receio da pobreza. Para terminar este ponto, será necessário dizer que, segundo W. James, o Eu é consciente, enquanto que o “mim” serão os diferentes objectos de que tenho consciência. Por outras palavras, o “Eu” é o que pensa em nós. Será que pensa como nós e que vive em nós. (11)

Pela leitura de W. James, o “Eu” corresponde ao *quidam homo*, que está na berma da estrada da vida (Desvalido).

Assim o “mim” material (salteadores), o “mim” social (Sacerdote e Levita) e o “mim” espiritual (Samaritano) encontram-se no Eu consciente, que os determina no seu agir responsável.

3. A CONVERSÃO: NA PARÁBOLA DO BOM SAMARITANO

A “conversão” é princípio epistemológico de autenticidade teológica. Em todo o tempo e lugar, a conversão é existencial para uma responsabilidade poética (interpessoal) (12). A conversão do Samaritano é afectada pelo viver e pelo conviver.

A dita conversão começa a possuir, como ponto de arranque, a admiração misericordiosa, que, como na parábola (Lc. 10, 25-37), passa do Samaritano é um caminho de misericórdia, cordial e prático, sobre a miséria e a situação do “meio-morto”, abrindo o coração, segundo as dificuldades do Outro.

Quando não se percorre este caminho, estamos fora da salvação (Mt 18, 23-26).

Assim, o “ver” será a entrada principal de contacto e a porta de conhecimento, de aproximação (proximidade) ou de irmandade. Alterar-se pelo Eu (Samaritano) é o início de toda a alteridade, de toda a sabedoria e de todo o conhecimento socialmente imperativo. Alterar-se misericordiosamente diz o contacto com os empobrecidos e os vulneráveis à margem da sociedade e da história. (14) O lugar da epifania do Rosto do Outro é o pobre, o doente e o marginal. Tal como o Desvalido da parábola (Lc. 10, 25-37), o único lugar possível para a epifania do Pai das misericórdias são aqueles que não são o sistema: o distinto do sistema, o doente, o pobre, etc. A identificação de Jesus com o pobre (Mt, 25) não é uma metáfora, não é uma lógica, mas sim uma vivência plesiológica. O Deus da nossa consolação revela-se no pobre. (15) A exterioridade escatológica do pobre, do doente, do marginal, se se entende segundo uma economia teológica, situa-se como realidade histórica e como categoria epistemológica de uma ética de libertação.

O Samaritano situa-se como “próximo” pela escuta da voz, pela voz do Desvalido (pobre, doente) e sente-se interpelado, transtornado, convertido, responsável pela comiseração, ao saber sofrer com o Outro, perante a dor e o sofrimento, transformado em critério da apelação poética (16). O “outro”, como epifania do Rosto do Desvalido, vive na relação plesiológica e “converte” a *ratio* totalizante da admiração em abertura responsável, solidária e activa.

Viver para o Outro, qualquer que seja esse Outro, será precisamente e sobretudo, porque não o merecemos. A “conversão” de um extremo, ao diametralmente oposto, assinala para a consciência a chegada de uma vida, revelada como forma plesiológica.

Devido ao que é “perto de mim”, a primeira pessoa, primeira para mim, segunda pela gramática e pela conjugação, passa a ser no Espírito, a primeira. A do interlocutor (tu) passa a ser a primeira, a absolutamente primeira para “mim”, desalojando-me do meu egoísmo e ocupando o meu lugar.

(17)

A parábola do *Homo Viator* determina a “conversão” de um Samaritano a um Desvalido, porque a “comoção das vísceras” surge da misericórdia de Deus-Pai.

A leitura da parábola do Bom Samaritano, pelo pensamento de W. James, é pragmática, enquanto que a leitura de Levinas refere uma fenomenologia bíblica, definindo-se numa ética de alteridade.

CONCLUSÃO

O Samaritano encontra o “desvalido” e ajuda-O nas suas necessidades e no seu sofrimento. Não espera pelo estalajadeiro e nem se limita a bons conselhos, mas assume a sua desgraça. Não calcula eventuais vantagens e, aquilo que fez, tê-lo-ia feito a qualquer outro. A relação é directamente subjectiva e passa para além de qualquer comunicação ou instituição. O que existiu foi um reconhecimento entre sujeitos, do qual se produz a comunidade entre eles ,que passa pela comunidade de bens que eles têm, isto, porque um tem bens e outro não os possuem.

Ocorre, a partir do reconhecimento entre os sujeitos, a identificação deles. O verdadeiro ponto de partida constitui a imaginação transcendental e a aproximação à realidade. A imaginação transcendental somente a podemos efectuar de “forma apelativa”. Esta é uma forma de linguagem que é própria da poética. Contamos com a “razão poética” para criar e recriar a vida do Desvalido no Caminho. Pela “razão pragmática”, segundo o pensamento de W. James, encontramos a parábola do Bom Samaritano como vivência empírica do “mim”, que vai do material ao espiritual, passando pelo social. Certo é que a parábola do Bom Samaritano implica, por um lado, uma “ética plesiológica” e, por outro, uma “ética poética”, na qual, pela relação do Samaritano e do Desvalido, se justifica a razão e a consciência poéticas.

Um outro e último elemento ético refere-se à responsabilidade poética, caracterizada por um compromisso misericordioso do Samaritano para com o Desvalido no caminho. A humanização, em saúde, segundo este esquema, é um “jogo poético” pelo diálogo e vivência de três termos plesiológicos: sofrimento, comportamento e palavra. A humanização refere-se como “fenomenologia poética”, na vida clínica, onde a relação médico-doente é no seu existir poético a “apelação plesiológica” (Lc. 10,28). A parábola do Desvalido no Caminho é ética de encontro com o Samaritano, que se revela como plesiológica teológica. A humanização, em saúde, segundo a leitura de W. James, é uma relação entre “mim”, (do mim material, social e espiritual) do doente e do médico. Aquele “mim”, que evidencia a humanização, revela-se no “mim” espiritual”. Assim, o “mim” espiritual, na relação médico-doente, é um *proprium* plesiológico, porque alimenta e fundamenta o “mim” social e o material. Naturalmente que a vida empírica da humanização se centra na relação plesiológica dos três “mim”. A humanização tem uma vida própria no “mim” espiritual.

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